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Navy sexual assaults deemed 'pernicious'

Commanders told to 'tackle' problem

By Rowan Scarborough
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Navy's Pacific commander is sounding the alarm over an increased number of rapes and sexual assaults and is calling on commanders to crack down on their sailors.

"I was surprised. We are experiencing these incidents at a greater rate than I had even suspected," Adm. Archie Clemins told commanders in a confidential message, a copy of which was obtained by The Washington Times.

"I think every one of you will agree, this is unsatisfactory and is totally unacceptable," the four-star officer said. "Do not hesitate to tackle these tough issues — we must if we are to curb this pernicious and disgraceful behavior."

Some military experts blame the problem on the stress of frequent sea deployments and the fact that more men and women are working in close quarters.

In March, The Times reported that the admiral in charge of Atlantic surface forces set new rules to guard against sexual misconduct. They included no nude sleeping, no pornographic movies and locked coed lavatories while in use.

"Make it a policy not to be behind locked doors with member of the opposite sex," the admiral ordered.

Adm. Clemins' message said that since November, the Pacific Fleet had experienced on average seven rapes and 6.5 sexual assaults per month.

"The picture gets worse for spousal and child abuse," the admiral wrote last month, saying the command recorded 18 spousal- and 6.5 child-abuse cases monthly in the same six-month span.

"I need your help," he said. "We have got to find a way to reduce this violence on and by our people."

The Navy is especially sensitive to reports of sexual assaults. Its public image was battered by the Tailhook scandal and the 1995 rape of an Okinawa schoolgirl by two sailors and a Marine.

Cmdr. Kevin Winsing, spokesman for the Pacific Fleet headquartered at Pearl Harbor, said Adm. Clemins sent the message after noticing a slight increase in monthly reports of rapes and sexual assault.

"The message was sent out because they noticed a couple of periods where it appeared to be over the average," Cmdr. Winsing said. "Its purpose is to re-emphasize and remind people to make sure each individual takes upon himself to set forth an atmosphere that's conducive to respect and decency."

Overall, he added, "there's been a downward trend in violent crime the last couple years, from bomb threats to robbery to domestic violence."

Disclosure of Adm. Clemins' message comes as the Navy, which forced a change in culture to rectify abuses at the 1991 Tailhook convention, is facing a new sex scandal at its Great Lakes, Ill., training base. The Navy has referred three instructors for court martial on charges of sexually abusing female recruits. A fourth

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instructor is still under investigation.

Adm. Clemins, who took command in 1996, has an area of responsibility stretching from polar waters to the Indian Ocean. He commands 135,000 sailors, 74,000 Marines, 195 ships and 1,500 aircraft.

The Pentagon couldn't immediately say if violent sex crimes are on the rise. But the Department of Veterans Affairs told Congress last month that more military women are reporting sexual assaults.

The VA department began sexual-trauma counseling five years ago with 2,090 cases. Last year, the caseload rose to 6,738.

"These findings indicate that sexual harassment and assault of women service members remains a serious problem for the active-duty military," Thomas Garthwaite, VA department undersecretary, told a House Veterans' Affairs subcommittee.

Robert Maginnis, a retired Army lieutenant colonel and analyst at the Family Research Council, said he sees a pattern.

"It's all indicative of stress and being placed in forced, intimate situations for extended periods," he said.

Notwithstanding the military's sex scandals, the armed forces have a lower crime rate than the civilian population. For example, the Army's rape rate is half the civilian one, and its rate for murder and aggravated assault is even lower — about one-fifth the civilian world's.

Adm. Clemins' message ordered commanders to start talking directly to sailors about their conduct.

"There may be some more obvious solutions I've not even thought about," he said. "Don't hesitate to work on new ways and methods to help with this problem."

Holbrooke Holds Talks On Kosovo

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Milosevic Meeting Yields Little Progress

By Guy Dinmore
Special to The
Washington Post

BELGRADE, May 10— Richard C. Holbrooke, sent by the White House to try to defuse tensions in Serbia's Kosovo province, made little headway in a first round of talks here with his old adversary, Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.

Diplomats say events in Kosovo -- where ethnic Albanians are demanding autonomy from the Serbian government -- are rapidly spinning out of control and could engender a wider conflict. A key highway running through the province was blocked by Serbian police over the weekend because of attacks on it by ethnic Albanian rebels of the Kosovo Liberation Army.

During nearly five hours of wide-ranging talks Saturday night, Milosevic -- formerly president of Serbia and now leader of the two-republic Yugoslav state that Serbia dominates -- rejected demands for outside mediation in the crisis. A statement from his office also condemned a tightening of economic sanctions on Yugoslavia by Western powers. Holbrooke and Robert S. Gelbard, the senior U.S. envoy for Balkan affairs, are to return to Belgrade Monday for more discussions with Milosevic.

From Belgrade, Holbrooke and Gelbard flew to Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, to meet with Ibrahim Rugova, political leader of ethnic Albanians in the province -- who outnumber local Serbs by 9 to 1. His peaceful campaign for independence has been undermined by the emergence of the Kosovo Liberation Army, a militant group backed by radical Albanians in exile that is stepping up raids on Serbian security forces.

The United States has condemned the Kosovo Liberation Army as a terrorist organization. Rugova denies any links with the rebels but is resisting Western pressure to denounce them. The group has broad support among ethnic Albanians and is growing in numbers and strength with weapons smuggled across mountains from Albania.

Asked in Pristina how the conflict could be resolved, Holbrooke replied: "I have no idea."

"While I would not describe the effort we are engaged in as a formal negotiation, it is nonetheless a discussion, and the issues are very complicated. We are not presenting a U.S. plan. We are here to listen and learn, and what we've heard here has been very useful," he said.

Holbrooke's first mission to Kosovo reflects Washington's mounting concern that the low-level conflict, which has claimed more than 150 lives this year, will engulf neighboring Albania and Macedonia.

A Wall Street banker since leaving government service, Holbrooke knows Milosevic well, having spent long sessions in Belgrade and in Dayton, Ohio, negotiating the accord that ended the 1992-95 Bosnian war. His job then was made easier by U.S. airstrikes on Bosnian Serb forces. Diplomats say similar intervention in Kosovo is not in the cards.

The U.S. envoys flew today from Pristina to Tirana, the Albanian capital. NATO has already turned down requests by Prime Minister Fatos Nano for help in securing his northern border, where his weakened army is no match against powerful clan leaders, criminal gangs and arms smugglers.

Inside Kosovo, the Kosovo Liberation Army is believed to have a core of about 500 militiamen but has distributed weapons to as many as several thousand villagers.

Serbian security forces control major towns in the province, but tensions are rising in them as well with the influx of thousands of Serbian and ethnic Albanian refugees. Since Friday, police have blocked traffic on the main highway linking Pristina in central Kosovo with the western town of Pec. The road divides the two main separatist strongholds in the central Drenica area and along the southwest border with Albania.

Armed elements on both sides believe all-out war is inevitable, but diplomats hope that economic pressure on Milosevic, combined with financial and political inducements, will persuade him to negotiate a settlement.

U.S. Effort Is Rebuffed By Israelis

Mideast Summit Off; Next Steps Unclear

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By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post
Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, May 10—Chief U.S. Middle East envoy Dennis B. Ross left Israel today after the government rebuffed an American proposal to revive the moribund peace process.

Palestinian negotiators who met with Ross earlier in the day said the American diplomat told them that a Middle East summit meeting scheduled for Monday by President Clinton had been canceled.

Chances for the summit collapsed when Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu spurned Washington's proposal that Israel withdraw troops from a further 13 percent of the West Bank, under military occupation by Israel since 1967, and hand partial control over to the Palestinians.

In return for this, the Palestinian authorities, who originally wanted a withdrawal from 30 percent of the territory, had agreed to intensify measures to contain terrorism directed against the Jewish state and to proceed immediately to negotiations on a final peace settlement.

Netanyahu's cabinet convened for its regular Sunday meeting today but ignored the U.S. ultimatum to accede to the 13-percent proposal and move to talks on a final peace deal with the Palestinians or risk unspecified diplomatic repercussions. The Israeli government contends the U.S. proposal would endanger national security and leave some Jewish settlements in the West Bank isolated.

It is unclear now what steps the United States will take. There will be no Clinton administration comment until after Ross reports Monday to Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, who returned to Washington late Saturday, and to Clinton, a State Department official said.

On Tuesday, the president is scheduled to leave for the G-8 economic summit in Birmingham, England.

David Bar-Illan, spokesman for Netanyahu, said the prime minister's schedule for the rest of this month is tight, including previously scheduled trips to the United States and China.

Netanyahu is due in the United States on Thursday for meetings with congressional leaders and Jewish groups, meetings that will give him an opportunity to evaluate support for his stance.

Bar-Illan told the Reuters news agency it would be difficult to squeeze in a peace summit before May 28.

Albright and other officials have been saying for months that in the absence of some breakthrough the time was coming for a new approach, some alternative to Ross's fruitless efforts to get the two sides back to the table.

"If agreement is not achieved, we might have to reexamine our approach to the peace process," Albright said in London last week. "I think we'll have a plan," she said in a later television interview.

Neither Albright nor any other administration official, however, has suggested what a new approach might look like.

Twice already Albright has unleashed her biggest weapon -- direct intervention by Clinton -- and twice it has failed to produce results, once when Arafat and Netanyahu came to Washington earlier this year and now in Netanyahu's rejection of Clinton's invitation to meet Monday.

Over the past 10 days, Clinton, Albright and Vice President Gore, in addition to Ross, have invested significant time and political capital in the effort to restart the Israeli-Palestinian talks, with no visible result except anger among some Israelis and American Jews about the methods of the administration.

But few analysts here appeared to believe Washington will walk away entirely.

The chief Palestinian negotiator, Saeb Erekat, suggested that no significant downgrading in the American role is likely and he noted that Ross intends to stay involved.

"He has informed us officially that the summit on Monday is off and that the U.S. regrets this, but they will continue efforts to revive the peace process," Erekat said.

However, Washington could turn up the pressure on Israel by making public the details of its latest peace proposal.

Netanyahu has strenuously objected to such a move, and his allies in Washington also have warned the Clinton administration against it.

The Israeli prime minister has made no secret of his distaste for the Oslo peace accord that Israel and the Palestinians signed in 1993, but he has pledged to abide by it.

And one of Clinton's senior advisers last month thought it "unthinkable" that Ross would make more than one additional trip to Jerusalem to revive the talks before the United States bailed out on the process.

His comment reflected the mounting frustration of the White House and State Department over a stalemate that has now lasted well over a year -- an impatience that has been visible at least since September, when Albright ended a visit to the region by saying she had no desire return just to "tread water."

Since the adviser spoke at the Summit of the Americas in Chile, Ross has been back to the region twice and Albright and Gore have met with Netanyahu and Arafat, to no avail.

Some Israeli analysts regard Netanyahu's strategy as designed simply to postpone indefinitely any deal in which Israel would agree to withdraw from captured Arab land in return for guarantees of peace. However, others note that he has already sharply reduced the amount of West Bank territory the Israelis once were prepared to cede and say his recalcitrance is simply gamesmanship aimed at extracting the best terms for a deal.

The Palestinians contend they have already cracked down on anti-Israeli terrorism originating in areas of the West Bank they now control. Sheik Ahmed Yassin, head of the militant Palestinian group Hamas, today acknowledged that a crackdown by Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat was underway but nonetheless vowed that his group would carry out further suicide bomb attacks on Jewish targets.

Several prominent U.S. Jewish leaders, including some who support a more forthcoming Israeli posture toward the Palestinians, have expressed shock and distress over what they regard as an ultimatum from Clinton to Netanyahu.

They said the strain in relations between Washington and Jerusalem does not yet rival that of the early 1990s, when then-President George Bush's secretary of state, James A. Baker III, feuded openly with a previous Likud party government over Israel's construction of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories.

But the Jewish leaders said Clinton should not be attempting to dictate outcomes to Netanyahu, especially on a matter that Warren Christopher, when he was secretary of state, stipulated in writing would be left to Israel's sole discretion.

Staff writer Thomas W. Lippman contributed to this report from Washington.

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USAF Chief Flies China's F-7 Fighter Aircraft

U.S. Air Force Chief Michael Ryan toured Chinese military facilities during a May 4-9 visit, including Foshan Air Base where Ryan flew the Chinese F-7 fighter.

Ryan also discussed improving bilateral military cooperation with Chinese Defense Minister Chi Haotian.

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U.S. Turns Homeward

Strategy Review Also Touts Space, Cyberwar

By ROBERT HOLZER
Defense News Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Deploying space-based weapons, protecting the United States from attack, and boosting intelligence collection and analysis are some of the challenges expected to confront U.S. military forces by 2025, a draft of a classified assessment of future U.S. strategy concludes.

The objective of the Joint Strategy Review Report, being prepared by the Pentagon's Joint Staff, is to help Army Gen. Henry Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, guide the strategic direction of the nation's military forces.

The Joint Strategy Review Report will be used by Pentagon planners to determine what changes, if any, should be incorporated into the National Security Strategy, which guides U.S. defense plans and budget decisions.

Control and use of space, as well as the supporting information-related technologies that undergird this capability, are expected to be increasingly important in military operations by the United States and potential adversaries beyond 2020, according to the report.

"Space systems and their associated ground links will be of critical concern to the United States in 2025," the report concludes. "They will constitute the information backbone underpinning the global economy as well as the future American information-based military."

However, U.S. pre-eminence in exploiting space will be challenged by more nations having access to the constellations of commercial satellites that will ring the planet, providing more detailed information, imagery and intelligence to whatever nation pays for it.

"Space is being commercialized, and when it becomes commercial there is mischief and you have to protect that just like the sea lanes of old," retired Vice Adm. Jerry Tuttle, former director of space and electronic warfare for the Navy and now president of Mantech Systems Engineering Corp., Fairfax, Va., said May 8. "We need innovative solutions and not a 'Star Wars' " approach, he added.

As a result of the rising importance of space, potential adversaries may seek to develop so-called asymmetric capabilities targeted at disrupting, denying or destroying the U.S. military's use of space-based capabilities. To counter this likely trend, the U.S. military must develop specific abilities to quickly replace lost or destroyed satellites, and embed self-defense measures into satellites so they can protect themselves, the report said.

Moreover, as space evolves into a military theater, the U.S. military could deploy weapons on satellites to strike targets on Earth. This type of space-based weaponry potentially could reduce the need for ground forces for some missions, the report said.

"As force protection becomes more critical and as technology evolves, it is conceivable that U.S. space-to-surface weapon systems can complement, or even substitute for, terrestrial, forward presence forces."

With more lethal weapons such as chemical and biological munitions, and more insidious forms of warfare such as wrecking information networks expected to become more commonplace by 2020, greater effort will be needed to protect the United States from attack, the report said.

Defending American soil, referred to as homeland protection, is considered essential so the nation can serve as a sanctuary for military operations.

"The increasing porosity of U.S. borders [both physical and electronic] could create a greater demand on U.S. forces to protect them," the report said.

John Hamre, deputy secretary of defense, characterized homeland defense as a new mission for the U.S. armed forces to which the Pentagon must devote enormous resources. Speaking at a May 7 conference sponsored by the Economic Strategy Institute here, Hamre said the threat of cyber attacks on military lines of communication, as well as on civilian and commercial targets, has blurred the roles of various government departments and agencies.

"[The threat of cyber incursion] is as important a national security concern as terrorism or [attacks from] chemical, biological or nuclear weapons," Hamre said. He noted that the Pentagon can handle such threats, but lacks the institutional framework needed to execute the new mission.

Chemical, biological, nuclear and even electronic attacks could devastate the nation's transportation or banking systems, according to the report. Thus, it recommends greater efforts should be made to pre-empt threats wherever they materialize.

"It will be less acceptable for the United States to simply respond to the aftermath of such an attack on our citizens and territory," the report said. "The United States government will, therefore, place a premium on using all means available to preempt the possibility of such an attack, to include unilateral military action."

To be able to nip such threats in the bud will place a premium on intelligence collection, dissemination and analysis, other military experts said. Intelligence will be crucial, since nations can develop very robust biological or information warfare capabilities, which don't necessarily signal hostile intentions as developing nuclear weapons have in the past.

"If you can run a micro-brewery, you can probably manufacture micro-toxins," Andrew Krepinevich, director of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments here, said May 8.

Staff Writer Barbara Opall contributed to this report.

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Pentagon Pushes Senate For Law of the Sea Treaty

With NATO expansion approved by the U.S. Senate, Pentagon officials are trying to jump-start efforts to secure passage this year of the Law of the Sea Treaty. Key provisions allowing the U.S. Navy certain rights expire this year, and without treaty membership Washington will lack influence over decisions affecting the world's oceans.

"We are hanging on by our fingernails," a Pentagon source said. "The Law of the Sea Treaty is being held hostage to a lot of other events."

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Senator Pledges Extra Millennium Bug Funds

Y2K Panel Chair Vows U.S. Will Find Money To Solve Computer Problem Before 2000

By GEORGE I. SEFFERS
Defense News Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — If officials from the Department of Defense or other government agencies need more funding to fix the year 2000 computer problem, all they have to do is ask Congress.

So says Sen. Robert Bennett, R-Utah, chairman of the newly formed Special Committee on the Year 2000 Technology Problem. Bennett told *Defense News* May 6 the year 2000 bug will be so devastating the government cannot afford not to fix it.

"One of the management activities [DoD] will have to engage in is to come back to the [Senate] Appropriations committee and say, 'We need [a specific amount] of money,'" Bennett said. "It will be absolutely intolerable if this problem is not fixed because of money. Money we can always get."

The year 2000 problem, also known as the Y2K problem or millennium bug, is a glitch in many computers worldwide that are programmed to understand years in only two digits instead of four, so that 1999 registers as 99.

On Jan. 1, 2000, when the date is recognized only as 00, computers might mistake the year for 1900, which could wreak havoc on a number of systems.

Among the predicted calamities are disrupted air, land and sea transportation, and suspended banking and finance transactions.

At stake for DoD are serious interruptions to critical command and control, reconnaissance and surveillance equipment, and weapons. Command and control systems at the heart of U.S. nuclear forces are of particular concern, and one of the Pentagon's highest year 2000 conversion priorities.

Bennett estimated converting Department of Defense computer systems will require $1 billion, but noted that estimates for converting computer systems governmentwide have risen steadily from $2.3 billion a year ago to the most recent government estimate of $4.7 billion.

Bennett said, however, that DoD and the Treasury Department combined will cost about $2 billion to convert, so he estimates the government's total expenditures will reach $10 billion.

Despite his willingness to pay for fixing the problem, Bennett warned against the Pentagon seeking funding for petty problems.

"This doesn't mean obviously that there is an open purse for people to come dip in for any pet project they want and label it Y2K, but ... leadership is committed to expediting appropriations should it become clear that is necessary.

"At the moment it is not clear that is necessary, but we want to be prepared in case it becomes clear."

Some of money could come from the multibillion-dollar federal surplus expected in the next few years, or it could be borrowed, Bennett said.

"If necessary, I'd be willing to have it come from deficit spending. This is not your ordinary crisis. This is not postponable. If it is not handled, the consequences could be truly catastrophic and enormously expensive, so if we discover that the federal bill is going to be about $10 billion, we put up the $10 billion. We really have no alternative."

The White House estimated in March that the federal surplus will reach $9 billion in 2000.

Because of the looming deadline and the balanced budget agreement, Congress and the president will have to declare an emergency to run up the deficit, Ted Smith, an analyst with McLean, Va.-based Federal Sources Inc., a consulting firm following government spending, said May 6.

"[Additional funding] will have to be a supplemental and DoD would have to ask for it early — by January or February of next year — because asking for it in the 2000 budget will be too late," Smith said.

Pentagon and White House officials so far have taken a hard line against seeking more money to fix the problem, for fear of triggering an avalanche of funding requests and discouraging cost-saving steps that could help fund the fix.

William Curtis, the Pentagon's new Y2K czar in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence, for example, warned service leaders in April not to expect a "magic pot of gold" to help them fix the problem.

A May 7 written response to *Defense News* questions sent to Curtis' office said the Defense Department is confident its current strategy is working, and that officials have no plans to seek more funding.

John Koskinen, chairman of the President's Council on Year 2000 Conversion, has taken the same position.

Bennett, who was instrumental in pushing for formation of the special Senate committee, expects to begin holding hearings in September, following Congress' August recess. He also announced April 5 he is sponsoring a bill, S-2000, that, among other things, will give Koskinen authority to transfer resources from some departments or agencies to others.

For example, Bennett said, if the Department of Commerce is able to fix all of its mission-critical systems, Koskinen, with the president's approval, could send personnel to DoD to get its problems fixed sooner.

The Department of Defense continually is criticized by the Government Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, and others for lagging in fixing its year 2000 computer problems.

The Pentagon's own Defense Science Board estimated in January that 672 of its 3,143 critical systems are year 2000 compliant.

The board suggested its number of mission critical systems might be inflated, but also pointed out that the 672 systems considered compliant had not yet been tested. Bennett said he has been assured by Defense Secretary William Cohen and John Hamre, deputy defense secretary, that the General Accounting Office is relying on outdated information.

"I have no way of knowing

how accurate that is ... but I intend to find out," Bennett said, adding he hopes the new committee will prompt leaders of other committees to ask similar questions.

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Bosnia War Victims' Rites Draw 10,000

MOSTAR, Bosnia -- The funeral for 186 war victims whose bodies were exhumed from mass graves drew 10,000 mourners to this southern Bosnian city yesterday.

Local and national leaders of Bosnia's Muslims urged everyone to remember the people killed during the 1993-94 Croat-Muslim war, so the bitter past is not repeated.

The victims were 185 Muslims and one Serb. The bodies were exhumed in recent months, a sign of increasing cooperation among Bosnian Serbs, Croats and Muslims in digging up war dead on one another's territory.

Norfolk Virginian-Pilot May 11, 1998

Marines' Pilots Aim To Protect Their Troops On The Ground

Some wonder if Corps and Navy both needs air wings

By Dave Mayfield
and Dale Eisman,
The Virginian-Pilot

BEAUFORT, S.C. -- Just past daybreak in this ``Lowcountry'' town, the devil dogs are getting set to fly.

Their ready rooms are tents strung with camouflage netting. Their command center is a hodgepodge of green trailers and inflatable huts. A plastic-coated map of the battle area is carried in on a sheet of plywood. Bare light bulbs strung from a metal pipe throw dim shadows behind the operation's leader as he rises to speak.

``We'd need to work this area over real well before we put any forces ashore,'' the colonel says.

The Marines will soon be landing. But not before Marine Corps F/A-18 Hornets launching from this simulated makeshift airfield get in close and deliver the bombs that will clear the way for the amphibious assault.

You have entered the world of Marine aviation -- where every pilot is an infantryman first and where the first priority is protecting ``the guy on the ground with the rifle.''

It's a kind of flying that Navy aviators don't do a lot of. And it's not all that Marine Corps pilots are capable of.

But as this recent exercise at the Marine air station here illustrated, ground support for its sand-spitting troops is the centerpiece of the Corps' aviation mission.

While the Navy focuses on fleet protection, air-to-air combat and ``deep-strike type of missions,'' the Marine Corps ``works usually a little bit in closer,'' says Marine Maj. David Wilkinson, an F/A-18 pilot now assigned as an aviation planner at the Pentagon. ``We each bring something unique to the fight, based on our service ethos.''

But with budgets tight and getting tighter, are the differences great enough to justify both services' continuing to fly their own combat planes? Should the smaller Corps maintain its own fleet of jets and the bases they require?

The questions are pertinent now because the Navy is said to be considering putting two of the F/A-18 squadrons that must vacate Cecil Field in Florida in Beaufort, instead of moving all 12 to Oceana Naval Air Station in Virginia Beach.

Beaufort, of all places: real-life stomping ground of ``The Great Santini,'' the profane Navy hater of book and Navy legend. In author Pat Conroy's novel based on his thunderous Marine Corps pilot father, the big man roars in drunken revelry: ``I figure it would take at least 15 minutes for Marine aviators to make Navy aviators an extinct form of animal life.''

The real ``Santini,'' retired Col. Don Conroy, who died Saturday, is considered a role model in Beaufort. He had been an honored guest each year at the air station's dress-up ball.

Friendly and professional: That's how Beaufort's Marine fliers describe the rivalry with their Navy counterparts now. ``We'd make 'em feel welcome here,'' one says.

Nevertheless, Virginia Beach's community leaders and some ex-Navy officers argue that Oceana is the logical place for all East Coast Navy combat fliers to go.

Instead of Beaufort getting some of ``our jets,'' a few of these boosters even say, maybe Oceana ought to be getting all of Beaufort's.

Retired Rear Adm. Eugene Carroll, deputy director of a Washington-based think tank called the Center for Defense Information, argues that the case for Marine aviation as an independent entity is shaky, at best.

During World War II, when the Marines were island-hopping toward Japan, Carroll says, there was a strong justification for having their own air arm. Navy leaders wanted to keep moving their planes and ships along, he says. But Marine forces often needed considerable time to move in from their beachheads and secure an island. Air support was critical.

Today, ``against any area defended effectively by modern weapons,'' Carroll says, the United States isn't going to risk an amphibious landing. Desert Storm was a case in point: There, the Marines served essentially as a decoy. The threat of a landing preoccupied Iraqi forces that otherwise might have been engaged against allied troops moving toward Kuwait from Saudi Arabia.

Only the Corps' political clout protects Marine aviation from budget cutters, Carroll says. ``You take on the Marine Corps on Capitol Hill,'' he says, ``and you've got unfriendly fire from the start.''

The Marines, of course, beg to differ. That's saying it nicely.

Try telling a Marine aviator, first of all, that Marines aren't going to go into battle again someday. Then try telling him that even if they do, some Navy top gun whose big thrill is shooting down enemy fighters will happily accept an assignment to get in close to help the grunts on the ground.

Say these things, and you've challenged the very crux of the one-for-all gusto that the Corps is all about.

``Our bottom line is the Marine infantryman on the ground who is attempting to occupy a piece of territory,'' says Lt. Col. Alex Wilkins, an F/A-18 pilot and operations officer for a Marine air group based in Beaufort. ``We exist strictly as an instrument to help him achieve that.''

A measure of the difference is how the two services utilize their two-seat Hornet ``D'' models. The Navy uses them only for pilot training. The back-seaters in Marine models drop bombs and launch air-to-ground missiles.

To expect the Navy to do as well at close-in ground support is unrealistic, Marine aviators say. The same goes for Marines' taking over Navy fliers' main roles.

``There's enough threat to go around for everyone,'' says Col. Richard Nasby, director of plans, policy and budget for Marine aviation at the Pentagon.

The leathernecks' first fling with flying came early in the century. According to Robert Sherrod's ``A History of Marine Corps Aviation in World War II,'' it started when Lt. Alfred A. Cunningham persuaded his superiors to have him assigned to Navy aviation camp at Annapolis in 1911.

By 1913, Sherrod wrote, there was a Marine section at the Navy Flying School, and two years later the Corps had six of the 30 officers and enlisted men assigned to the new Navy Flight School at Pensacola, Fla.

Toward the end of World

War II, the Corps even had some escort carriers assigned to it exclusively -- but Marine aviators became so ``deeply interested in shooting enemy planes out of the wild blue yonder . . . they lost sight of their primary mission'' of supporting amphibious assaults.

Since then, the Marines have shared a succession of aircraft with the Navy -- from the F-4 to the A-6 -- while managing to deeply recarve their own niche.

Besides the F/A-18, Marine ground-support aircraft now also include helicopters and vertical-lift Harriers. Though by far the fastest of them, the F/A-18 is ``perfect'' for the role, Wilkins says. The Hornet's speed makes it hard to hit, and it's ``highly accurate,'' he says.

It's critical to the Marines that the Hornet perform well because it will be the flying Corps' mainstay until the so-called Joint Strike Fighter joins the fleet around 2007. The Marines opted to wait for a vertical-takeoff version of that plane rather than purchase any of the souped-up Super Hornets now in production for the Navy.

Despite their differences, the two services' air arms do have much in common. Marine Corps and Navy pilots train together and use the same maintenance and support network. Marine F/A-18 pilots, like their Navy counterparts, must qualify to fly off carriers. Several Marine Hornet squadrons are assigned to carrier air groups at all times. In fact, the first F/A-18s to deploy on a carrier belonged to the Marines.

``This is not something that's new to the Marine Corps,'' Nasby says of the side-by-side arrangement now being discussed for Beaufort. Marine aviators have played the visitors on Navy ``territory'' for decades.

But Marine pilots clearly spend much more time with their heads and their feet on the ground. They pull assignments in ground units between flying stints. And even before they head off to Pensacola to seek their wings, they must first complete infantry training.

``One of the first days of the basic school, the instructors said, `All the aviators, raise your hands,' '' recalls Capt. LeGrand Elebash, an F/A-18 pilot now assigned to a support squadron at Beaufort. ``Boy, that was a big mistake. They said, `You aren't aviators yet. You're wannabes. For the next six months you're not going to talk about it or think about it. You're going to learn to be a Marine infantry officer.' ''

And to suffer.

Ethos born from pathos: That is the Marine way. It is why, in many respects, Marine air jockeys feel more in common with grunts than with Navy pilots.

You can see the ethos factory at work at Parris Island, a few miles from the Beaufort air station. Raw enlisted recruits who survive the punishing boot camp become the sand crawlers that pilots like Elebash and Wilkins will defend.

From the austerity of their basic school at Quantico, Marine aviators graduate to a slightly more luxurious Spartanism. It was in full drab bloom during the recent exercise in Beaufort.

Crews have erected a pencil-legged air-control tower big enough for two men to crawl into. They have laid 292,000 square feet of aluminum matting for a taxiway and fuel pad. And they've strung black hoses through a thicket of pines to three gigantic, khaki-colored, pillowlike bladders, each filled with 20,000 gallons of fuel.

It's nothing like the choreographed gray precision of a carrier's flight deck. ``But it's the same end result: an F/A-18 airborne,'' Chief Warrant Officer 2 Mark Hassell, a Marine fuels officer, shouts over the roar of a refueling Hornet. With his system, ``I can pump fuel up mountains, down valleys, just about anywhere.''

Wilkins flew from such an expeditionary field during Desert Storm, completing 41 missions attacking Iraqi ``bunkers, airfield hangars, troops in the open, vehicles, lines of communica- tion.''

In Bosnia five years later, his squadron provided ground support for U.N. forces.

``Saber rattling,'' he says. ``It's our presence that scared people. It was amazing to me that we were supporting Russian ground troops from the United States Marine Corps. When I came in . . . in 1979, it just wasn't what I ever thought I would do.''

And neither did he believe that someday Navy combat squadrons might end up with a Marine Corps mailing address. Today, it doesn't seem like a bad idea to the airborne devil dogs of Beaufort.

But imagine how ``The Great Santini'' and his Navy-hating cohorts would have reacted.

``Hell,'' one of the Marine pilots growls in the book, ``I'd rather go to war against the Navy than the Russians.''

U.S. News & World Report May 18, 1998 Pg. 42

Bombs Get Smarter; What About Generals?

The Army recently conducted a $1 million war game, and the enemy lived to fight again

By Richard J. Newman

The Army gave itself an imaginative arsenal during its latest war game. In a conflict set in the year 2021, holographic images of tanks and planes could be used to fool the enemy. Shafts of depleted uranium orbited on space vehicles, ready to rain down like "rods from God" on enemy command centers. Each of the Army's premier fighting units had such concentrated firepower that in open terrain it could destroy an enemy corps 25 times its size.

All of that technology, however, still left U.S. commanders with some vexing problems at the end of the simulated war, conducted last month in classrooms at the Army War College in Carlisle, Pa. Opposing troops had captured the cities of key allies and dug into the urban terrain, forcing nasty, close-in fighting by plain old infantrymen. The war had produced rebellion in several key oil-producing nations. And the enemy's leaders not only survived but also salvaged enough forces to fight again in a few years.

With little likelihood of a real war in the next decade, Pentagon planners are looking deeper into the future. While some of the weapons in the Army's war game were a tad fanciful, many prominent strategists think a military revolution is at hand: Precision weapons, computing power, and surveillance gear like satellites and unmanned airplanes could soon let commanders see and destroy nearly anything that moves. The question is how tactics must change to exploit these technologies--and what factors might render the technological advances useless.

To help answer such questions, the Army ran a six-day, $1 million exercise described by experts as one of the largest and most complex war games ever undertaken. Over 450 "players" represented everybody from top U.S. political and military leaders to the heads of important countries to the enemy leadership and its military staff. Richard Armitage, a former high-ranking Defense Department official, played the president. Other government veterans represented his advisers. The staffs formulating battle plans were filled largely by midlevel, active-duty military officers.

The game began with a Middle Eastern country, designated the New Islamic Republic, invading one of its oil-rich neighbors. (Names of real countries associated with those in the game are classified, to prevent controversy over how the Army portrays other countries in fictitious scenarios.) The United States immediately pledged to help reverse the N.I.R. invasion but faced complications not present during the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990. There were no U.S. troops based in the region, because of rising anti-

American sentiment. The attack occurred with little warning. The New Islamic Republic, well aware of American restrictions on attacking civilians, intermingled invading troops with thousands of Islamic worshipers making a pilgrimage to holy cities in the country under attack.

No time. Those factors helped keep some of America's most potent weapons in the holster. Had a futuristic, highly mobile "battle force" unit of 7,500 troops been present, its ability to zoom in from a nearby staging area, roll out light missile launchers and armored vehicles, and harness gigabytes of targeting data would have quickly doomed most enemy vehicles. But getting such a unit from America to the region took five days. By then, N.I.R. forces had seized key cities.

The sudden attack made neighboring countries more amenable to U.S. troops on their soil. But the N.I.R. launched ballistic missiles with chemical and biological warheads at ports and bases throughout the Middle East. So when American forces finally did arrive, they decamped in fairly distant countries, as well as in the Arabian Sea on a huge floating structure known as a "mobile offshore base" (graphic, below). From there they launched counterattacks and destroyed much of the N.I.R. invasion force. Along the way, American commandos also freed 250 members of the allied country's royal family who were surrounded by N.I.R. troops.

But then came tough choices: Invade the N.I.R., to go after its leaders? Or just root out the remaining invasion forces and secure prewar borders? In one of the daily meetings of the top American officials, "President" Armitage and his advisers decided to attack the N.I.R. capital.

On a separate floor, the N.I.R. leadership team wondered what had taken so long. American forces had been "nibbling at the edges" by trying to dislodge the N.I.R. invaders, said Paul Jureidini, a Middle East analyst who played the N.I.R.'s foreign minister. The delay let N.I.R. forces entrench themselves in five major cities and weaken American public support for the war by killing several thousand U.S. troops. "They may get to us anyway," said Fred Hof, a former State Department official playing the N.I.R. president. "But they're going to go through this meat grinder."

The American decision makers could have sent troops into the N.I.R. capital at the outset but decided against it for political reasons. They had worried that it would make America look like the aggressor and erode international support.

The U.S. counterattack brought plenty of destruction to the N.I.R. Yet the game ended as real wars often do: Both sides claimed victory. The N.I.R. had sown chaos on the soil of its regional rival and caused thousands of American casualties, while the United States had driven back the N.I.R. invaders. Among the tentative conclusions is that an ideal ground force should include old-fashioned units able to go into action faster, even if they are less potent. Says retired Brig. Gen. Huba Wass de Czege, one of the game's analysts: "One soldier early on is worth five later on."

Ultimately, political limitations--not military ones--led to the American predicament at the end of the war. "If the battle force is something designed to go for the jugular, and you're not going to go for the jugular, why bother?" wondered Rick Sinnreich, a retired Army colonel who played the N.I.R.'s military chief. The Army is taking that question back to the lab.

The Economist May 9-15, 1998

The National Guard in a brave new world

Anything useful to do, besides fighting the army?

It was one of the sweetest victories in the 350-year history of the National Guard. The citizen-soldiers of Nevada left their factories, farms and investment banks for a battlefield in California, where they disguised their American tanks as Russian T-80s and donned the colours of an imaginary country called Krasnovia. Within a few hours they had pierced the defences of the adversary, a mechanised brigade of full-time soldiers from Georgia (the American state, that is). Guardsmen across the nation rejoiced at their Nevadan comrades' success. They had given the Pentagon sceptics a bloody nose—and proved that "weekend warriors" are perfectly capable of engaging in full-scale armoured combat whenever Uncle Sam needs them.

Unfortunately, not every battle in the relentless conflict between the full-time American army and the Army National Guard, a mostly part-time force with strong local roots, has such a rapid and decisive outcome. Most of the time, the two institutions are locked in an inconclusive war of attrition which makes it impossible for Pentagon strategists to use either of them effectively. Like everybody else who is competing for slices of the Pentagon's shrunken pie, each side in this argument dismisses its opponents as superannuated, cold-war relics.

The swift, high-tech wars of tomorrow may have little place for the dentist or school-teacher who likes to drive tanks or fly helicopters as a hobby, according to the full-time army—whose strength has been slashed by about 40%, to 495,000, since the Soviet collapse. Nonsense, retorts the National Guard, which has lost only 20% of its cold-war strength and numbers around 370,000. As the guard sees things, the huge regular army that was built to fight the Soviet Union and its allies was an aberration in American history. Now that the cold war is over, America should revert to reliance on the citizen-soldier, a concept which dates back to colonial times.

"Americans have always been suspicious of standing armies, ever since we fought the British redcoats," says a spokesman for the National Guard Association, one of the more formidable lobbies on Capitol Hill. To settle the matter, guardsmen point out that their position is safeguarded by the American constitution, which calls for the raising of militias "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

But full-time army commanders remain sceptical. The guard's eight combat divisions, its pride and joy, have been steadfastly excluded from any significant role in the army's plans to fight two regional wars (presumably in the Gulf and the Korean peninsula) simultaneously—the worst-case scenario on which much Pentagon thinking is based. In the guard's view, this exclusion is based on a self-serving calculation: the army would not be able to justify retaining ten combat divisions of its own if it admitted that the guard could also play an important role.

As the army sees things, the Gulf war of 1991 proved its point: modern conflicts are too quick and deadly to have much place for troops that require 90 days or more to reach the proper state of readiness. The guardsmen allege, with real bitterness, that their combat brigades were kept out of the war even when they were well prepared.

The deadlock is so intractable, and the mistrust so deep, that the entire process of adapting the military to a changing world is at risk of paralysis. The latest round of peace talks, convened in April by John Hamre, the deputy defence secretary, persuaded the guard that the Pentagon's civilian bosses do want a solution. But the part-timers remain intensely suspicious of the army. They insist that they are ready for painful changes, such as converting some of their heavy-armour divisions into lighter ones, but only if the army does the same. "We are willing to

change if the army is willing to change, but we cannot take them at their word," says Major-General Edward Philbin, director of the National Guard Association.

Tensions increased a lot last year when the Pentagon published a quadrennial defence review that called for a cut of 40,000 in the guard's strength. Guardsmen muttered that the army had conspired against them; the army retorted that it was about time the guard bore its share of defence cuts like everybody else. Eventually the guard offered to accept a cut of 15,000 over three years, but only if the army recognised the guard's importance by signing up to 11 principles. Otherwise, all deals were off the table.

The reason why the guardsmen feel able to take such a firm line is that they have extraordinary political clout. Because guardsmen are based in every part of the country, no lawmaker can afford to ignore them. They also have a natural constituency in the state governors, who rely on them to cope with riots, explosions and (especially in recent months) natural disasters. At least in peaceful times, the $5.5 billion which the Pentagon spends every year on maintaining the guard is a sort of transfer from Washington to the governors, who are gaining influence on several other fronts and are highly protective of their local troops.

The net result is a stalemate—and intense frustration for the defence planners, who long to save money on army personnel (whether full-or part-time) and use it to buy high-tech weapons. The Pentagon says annual procurement spending must rise by about $20 billion, to $60 billion per year, by 2001 if America is to retain its military edge against all comers. But with every legislator determined to protect bases and guard units in his or her home district, it looks harder and harder to see how money can be freed for this shopping spree.

In recent months, a new factor has emerged which could have a large, unpredictable effect on the stand-off between the army and the guard, and on the broader balance of power in the Pentagon. It is the belief among defence thinkers—especially those not wedded to any particular bureaucratic interest—that domestic security risks may be rising at a time when the United States looks virtually unchallengeable overseas. In military jargon, this is the theory of "asymmetrical threats". It goes like this: no adversary in his right mind would try to match America's vast arsenal of tanks, ships or nuclear weapons. It makes far better sense for the enemy—be it a terrorist group, a rogue state, or a combination of both—to wage chemical, biological or even cyber-warfare against American society, exploiting its openness.

There was, initially at least, much rejoicing among the guardsmen last year when the national defence panel, a group of experts with a mandate to review the country's military priorities, called for greater emphasis on countering poison gas or germ warfare attacks at home. The panel suggested that a Homeland Defence Command could be organised around the National Guard.

But, on second thoughts, the guardsmen feel more cautious about the new defence thinking. Dealing with the ghastly consequences of a chemical or biological attack has always been part of their job, they point out. Governors would need them badly during the few crucial hours when the emergency was too serious for local police and fire services to cope and the federal authorities had not yet arrived. But the guard will strongly resist any changes to its structure that would compromise its ability to join the regular army on overseas combat missions. Since "the army would love to turn us into a constabulary" with purely local duties, the guard is bracing itself for a fresh bureaucratic fight, says General Philbin.

In fact, the advent of "asymmetrical threats" may not suit the institutional interests of any of the Pentagon's quarrelsome soldiers. Consider how the lines of authority would shift in the event of a chemical or biological attack on Anytown, America. Once the emergency became too serious for the state government, responsibility for "crisis management"—identifying the culprit and stopping further attacks—would shift to the FBI. The appalling human consequences of the crisis would be dealt with by a shadowy organisation called the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), originally designed to keep government functioning in secret in a nuclear war, but better known for mismanaging the aftermath of hurricanes. The mainstream defence establishment would hardly enter the picture. If the attack was clearly launched by a foreign state, the generals might get busy retaliating. But what if the culprits were home-grown terrorists?

In practice, nobody knows who would do what if American city-dwellers faced a lethal cloud of anthrax or nerve gas. An exercise in March, designed to test the authorities' response to a genetically engineered virus spread by terrorists on the Mexican-American border, led to bitter squabbling among rival agencies. "There is no clear demarcation line between the FBI and FEMA, and knowledge about disease and hazardous materials is spread over a broad array of institutions," says Zachary Selden, a germ-warfare boffin. "Somebody is needed to sit on top of these operations."

But as America waits for the barbarians, its soldiers and guardsmen may at last have found something in common. Both have an interest in keeping the Pentagon's mind concentrated on hypothetical overseas wars, as opposed to deadly attacks on the homeland which look all too possible.

Miami Herald May 11, 1998 Pg. 1

Miami's Costs Shock Southcom Soldiers

By Christopher Marquis
Herald Staff Writer

Eight months after Florida officials and business leaders lured the U.S. Southern Command to South Florida, the American soldiers charged with promoting stability and cooperation throughout Latin America and the Caribbean say the move has put them in deep financial trouble.

Scores of enlisted personnel at the command's new headquarters in West Dade are struggling to make ends meet, faced with a higher cost of living and expenses they did not have at their former base in Panama.

What the men and women of Southcom are finding is that military wages don't go as far in the civilian world as they would on a base, even taking into account free or subsidized housing and food rations.

Even though all but a handful of Southcom staffers earn more than the average Floridian, their loss of base support has produced unsettling scenes, far removed from the welcoming vision painted by civic leaders who vigorously lobbied the Pentagon.

Some examples:

Army sergeants with as many as 10 years of service are forced to double or triple up in apartments and send their spouses and children to live with relatives in cheaper parts of the country.

Low-ranking members are applying for food stamps, taking second jobs or plowing through savings, while some military spouses who used to work in Panama now stay home to save on transportation and child care costs.

Divorce rates are high, with at least 25 of 470 couples seeking legal help with divorce in the last seven months -- a rate more than twice the national average.

Belt-tightening is such that Gen. Charles Wilhelm, the head of the U.S. Southern Command, recently appealed to Gov. Lawton Chiles to spare his staff the daily expense of turnpike tolls.

``We're having big problems,'' said Sgt. Maj. Jesse Laye, Southcom's top enlisted member. ``We have staff sergeants on food stamps. That's a

damn shame. That really bothers my heart. These are people responsible in a deployed situation for 10 to 40 men's lives who can't afford to keep their families here."

Not all of Southcom's personnel are living hand to mouth. Wilhelm, the top officer, earns a package of nearly $138,000 annually, and the lowest officer takes in $40,662 in salary and benefits.

Lived well in Panama

But most enlisted personnel make between $28,440 and $36,834 with benefits, about what an average Florida schoolteacher earns. That places most soldiers beneath the national mean income for adults, last calculated at $36,519 in 1996.

In Panama, Southcom personnel lived graciously amid manicured lawns and athletic fields. A soldier could fix the car, drop off a child, get a haircut, see the doctor and frequently land a job for a spouse without stepping off base. Often, there was money left over for a maid or gardener.

But beginning last summer, the Pentagon -- prodded by the Panama Canal treaties to turn over U.S. bases to Panama -- pulled up stakes and began moving into the new headquarters in the Doral area, four miles west of Miami International Airport. So far, 694 military and 247 civilian staffers of a total of 1,000 have settled in South Florida.

Overnight, cash-strapped corporals and sergeants awoke to a world without commissaries or PX's, base hospitals or laundries. Suddenly, there was just Sam's and Winn-Dixie and Eckerd's, with no cost-of-living differential to ease the transition. Although the Homestead Air Base PX is available for use, many consider it too far to be practical.

``We cannot live on my income,'' said Army Sgt. David Bassili, 26, who has a pregnant wife and a toddler. ``And as a staff sergeant in the United States Army, call me thick-headed, but I refuse to get on food stamps. I feel I'd be demeaning myself.''

No one knows how many Southcom employees have resorted to welfare. The governor's office did not respond to a Herald request, and Southcom declined to make available personnel receiving food stamps. The Pentagon says that only 12,000 of its 1.4 million service members receive food stamps, and then mostly because their subsidized housing is not factored into their income.

Can't make ends meet

Bassili, whose basic salary is about $1,900 a month, worries that his bank account is shrinking just as he is trying to build a family. After the second child is born, child care costs will leap to $700 a month; he hopes that he is around when his wife goes into labor to avoid the $25 ambulance charge.

His wife is working until the last possible moment, he says, as a sales manager for a firm that sells roses.

``I came here with a $3,200 savings account. I have $371 left. Has it created stress in my marriage? Oh yeah,'' Bassili said. ``The move here has made me feel like I can't provide for my family.''

Army Sgt. Maj. Angela Brown thought she could save money by buying a house in Homestead, 25 miles from headquarters. But turnpike tolls began to take a bite out of her income. So she avoids the turnpike, adding an extra 15 minutes each way to her commute to save $2 a day, she said.

Air Force Tech. Sgt. Penny Boggis said she had to forgo enrolling her two kids in sports leagues because her child care bills already totaled $260 a month. She diligently cuts coupons before shopping.

``I go around Publix budgeting with my calculator. We're very, very frugal,'' Boggis said. ``Still, I'm going into my savings account every month just to make up the difference.''

Marine Staff Sgt. William Dluhos Jr. has watched his savings evaporate in the last few months.

Now he worries about the $7 price of a haircut or the tab for dry cleaning his uniform, which must always look crisp. His car was recently sideswiped by a truck and he's worried what will happen to insurance rates he already views as astronomical.

Other personnel are taking up second jobs as security guards or deliverymen. Some give up and ship off their spouses and children to live with relatives in less expensive cities. Southcom has more than 30 ``geographical bachelors,'' according to Laye.

Housing costs are high

It wasn't supposed to be this way.

When civic leaders banded together as Team Miami and persuaded the Clinton administration to choose Miami over its southern rivals in 1995, they argued that the command would be a streamlined model for the next century -- a high-tech headquarters poised at the crossroads of the Americas, integrated into South Florida's economy and culture, capable of drawing muscle from U.S. bases farther inland.

And that, according to Don Slesnick, co-chair of Team Miami, is what has emerged. Except the Pentagon and Congress dropped the ball, he said, by failing to insulate employees from South Florida's housing prices.

``I don't think it's an insoluble problem,'' said Slesnick, who believes the employees need an adjustment in their housing allowance. The Department of Defense, he said, ``is remiss in not making it a high priority.''

The Pentagon authorizes cost-of-living adjustments for military personnel in eight states: California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. Miami's cost index, while high, did not meet the threshold, Southcom leaders said.

In response to inquiries from The Herald, a Defense Department spokesman said the Pentagon will review its outlays for Southcom personnel.

``The appropriate Defense Department officials are aware of the concerns and are working with the U.S. Southern Command to address the matter of housing allowance,'' said Lt. Col Tom Begines. ``There will be an on-site examination of the housing needs and allowances for service members in the Miami area within the next two months.''

`Hard hill to climb'

Slesnick said some of the complaints at Southcom result from military people having to assume some of the daily costs and burdens of ordinary people. Having lived on bases most of their lives, the military personnel are especially troubled by such big-city fixtures as traffic jams and crime, which to many others are simply part of the landscape.

``I think that culture shock is a big part of it,'' Slesnick said. ``But certainly, it's also sticker shock.''

State and federal officials said they were unaware of significant problems at Southcom. Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart, who represents Southcom's district, said he knew of no complaints there. Rep. Tillie Fowler of Jacksonville, the ranking Floridian handling military installations, did not respond to requests for comment.

Ryan Banfill, spokesman for Chiles, said the governor is eager to help but would be hard-pressed to grant Wilhelm's request for a break on turnpike tolls.

``It would require legislative action,'' Banfill said. ``It would be a hard hill to climb.''

In the meantime, Southcom officials say, local officials and business people are easing the burden somewhat.

Miami-Dade police have made their gym available off-hours to Southcom personnel. The Miami National Golf Club has waived greens fees for Southcom personnel. The Chamber of Commerce held a picnic at Flamingo Park and has supplied free tickets to sporting events.

For Laye, Southcom's top enlisted member, the challenge is to find a solution sooner rather than later.

``Can this command survive here? Absolutely,'' he said. ``The question is how many marriages do we actually lose -- and how many savings do we deplete -- in trying to figure it out.''

Historic Space Control Center Back In Service

Washington Post
May 11, 1998 Pg. 2

Air Force Dedicates Cape Canaveral Site

Associated Press

CAPE CANAVERAL, May 10—After crumbling and rusting away for decades, the historic control center that launched John Glenn on the nation's first manned orbital flight is back in business.

The newly refurbished blockhouse at Complex 14 at Cape Canaveral Air Station, once a mildewed storage place for old furniture, was dedicated today as an Air Force conference center.

The ceremony brought back memories for two of the Mercury astronauts who rocketed into space from the complex.

"It's a noble cause because this place is historic," said Scott Carpenter, the fourth American in space. "A lot of historic things have not been preserved down here, but this has been and that's good."

"A lot of good memories," said Gordon Cooper, who became the sixth and final astronaut to fly in NASA's Mercury program 35 years ago this week. "It's a very nice thing, this blockhouse dedicated as a memorial to all our early efforts."

Several hundred people joined Carpenter and Cooper for the dedication of the domed blockhouse, whose 10-foot-thick, reinforced concrete walls protected launch controllers from possible explosions of the Atlas rockets blasting off a mere 1,000 feet away. Periscopes through the concrete provided safe views .

Glenn and another Mercury astronaut launched from Complex 14, Wally Schirra, did not attend today's dedication.

The complex also launched the first U.S. intercontinental ballistic missile in 1957. And it launched Agena spacecraft that docked with two-man Gemini capsules in 1966 as training for the moon landings.

It was deactivated in 1967. The launch tower was blown up with dynamite, and the blockhouse was left to languish in the Florida sun and rain. The concrete roof began to crumble, and the signs and fences rusted. Mildew ravaged the interior. Old furniture was stored inside, and at one point it was a fallout shelter.

"It was an ugly sight," said Brig. Gen. F. Randall Starbuck, commander of the 45th Space Wing, the Air Force equivalent of NASA.

Salvage operations began six months ago. The roof was fixed, electrical wiring was replaced, and air conditioning was added. Much of the work was done by volunteers.

"It doesn't look much like it used to look," Carpenter said, surveying the freshly painted and carpeted interior.

"But the periscopes are there, and the outside looks the same. And sure, that makes you think of all of the excitement here a long time ago."

New York Times May 11, 1998

Macedonia's Albanians Are Restive

By Chris Hedges

SKOPJE, Macedonia -- At dawn, under spindly Turkish minarets that rose above cobblestone streets, silver-domed shops and cramped bazaar stalls, several hundred sleepy laborers gathered near a bus stop.

Most of the men, who were waiting in hope that passing trucks might pick them up for $10-a-day construction jobs, were ethnic Albanians, who make up about 25 percent of Macedonia's 2 million people.

As they waited, most only to return home without a job or enough money to buy food, they muttered the usual curses of the poor against the indifference of the state and passed along the latest news of the fighting between Albanian separatists and Serbs in the nearby Serbian province of Kosovo.

"We must also fight for our freedom in Macedonia, just as the Albanians are fighting for their freedom in Kosovo," said Kemal Provolija, 30, who has worked only one day in the last month. "There are no peaceful solutions in the Balkans."

The nationalism that sowed the savage wars in Croatia and Bosnia and has set Kosovo alight is spilling with alarming speed into the civil life of this sleepy backwater. Macedonia, one of the most tolerant of the five states carved out of the former Yugoslavia, has been unable to stanch the ideological mutations that lead to ethnic conflict.

"Macedonia is like Bosnia in the final years before the war," said Mustafa Peza, 44, a ethnic Albanian and political reporter for the state radio.

"The crisis in Bosnia began just like this, with the formation of extreme nationalist parties, the media dividing into ethnic camps and an economic situation that was hopeless and left a huge number of people hungry and out of work."

Macedonia has had a troubled history since its independence seven years ago.

The hostility of its neighbors -- especially Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, which fought the Turks over Macedonia early in this century -- lead the United Nations to send a peacekeeping force, including a small contingent of American troops, to monitor its borders.

But the state, while incorporating its ethnic Albanian minority into the Government, has also sought to bolster its legitimacy by mythologizing Macedonian culture. The Government has claimed, despite dubious historical evidence, that Alexander the Great is the forefather of the modern nation. Macedonian is the sole official language. The state has turned the Macedonian Orthodox Church into an official creed.

The ethnic Albanians, who are mostly Muslims, say they can never be full members of the state.

Few senior police officials are of Albanian descent, even in Albanian villages, and the military is dominated by Macedonians. Albanians make up a majority of the unemployed in a country where a third of the work force is without jobs.

Along with the militants, an underground ethnic Albanian university in Tetovo, which meets in private homes, is seeking to counter Macedonian chauvinism by teaching ethnic Albanians a chauvinism of their own. And there are feverish real estate deals under way in Skopje, the capital, so that increasingly ethnic Albanians live on one side of the Vardar River and the Macedonians on another.

Daily incidents speak of ethnic polarization.

Mr. Peza said that when he took his 7-year-old daughter to a Macedonian school in his neighborhood, the students taunted her about her Albanian roots and name. He now drives her across the city so she can attend an Albanian school.

The Government, alarmed by the growing separatist movement, which set off three homemade bombs in January without causing casualties or damage, has begun to crack down on the militants. Last month it sentenced the Mayor of Gostivar, Rufi Osmani, to seven years in prison for flying the Albanian flag in front of city hall and inciting separatism. The Mayor of Tetovo was given two and a half years in prison for refusing to remove the Albanian flag. Across the border to the north, the Kosovo Liberation Army, known as the UCK for its acronym in Albanian, is fighting for the predominantly Albanian province's independence from Serbia.

Defense Minister Lazar Kitanoski says he is deeply worried about the "UCK-ization" of young ethnic Albanians in Macedonia.

"Most young Albanians worship the Kosovo Liberation

Army," said Ruzhdi Selemani, 28, an ethnic Albanian militant. "They see it as the vanguard of the Albanian liberation movement.

There are Macedonians who have gone to fight in Kosovo."

After the two mayors were sentenced, seven ethnic Albanians in Parliament, nine mayors and scores of local council members resigned in protest three weeks ago. Albanians who have remained in the Government, including five members of the Cabinet, say they are coming under increasing pressure to withdraw.

"In my district we have 80 percent unemployment," said Mersel Bilalli, a Parliament member who did not resign. "How can I talk about cooperation? Most people believe this poverty is part of a plan by the Macedonian majority to push the Albanians aside.

"What is worse, while the Government cracks down on Albanian militants, it is too frightened to go after Macedonian extremists. The two radical groups are splitting Macedonia between them. Take a look at Kosovo. The same deterioration is under way here."

Ljupco Georgievski, 33, a Macedonian nationalist leader who has led marches through the capital with followers waving Macedonian flags, said recently that he saw "no reason for any Albanians to be part of the Macedonian Government."

In the 1991 parliamentary elections, his party, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization -- named for a guerrilla organization that fought against the Ottoman Turks -- won 39 of 120 parliamentary seats.

The party hopes to oust the Government of President Kiro Gligorov, 81, who was nearly killed in an assassination attempt in 1995.

The party boycotted the 1994 vote, charging fraud. But in the parliamentary elections this fall it is expected to improve on its 1991 showing, political analysts say, with its promises that only "loyal" ethnic Albanians can remain in the state.

"You can try repression with the Albanians, as in Serbia, and you can try tolerance, as we have in Macedonia," Mr. Georievski said recently. "Nothing works. They still want to destroy the state and create a greater Albania."

Ironically, Mr. Georgievski's closest ally in the campaign to shake the fragile foundations of the Government is the militant ethnic Albanian political leader Arben Xhaferi.

Mr. Xhaferi spent two decades with the separatist movement in Kosovo before returning to Macedonia, where he was born, five years ago.

The political adversaries appear to have lifted a page from the playbook in Bosnia, where Croat, Serb and Muslim nationalist leaders often conspired together before the war to thwart political leaders seeking to hold the old Yugoslavia together. Albanian and Macedonian political leaders say the nationalists have held meetings intended to coordinate assaults against the Government.

"We tried to work within the system," Mr. Xhaferi explained, his thick brows knitted in consternation. "We wanted democracy from these old Communists, but what did we get? They talked of democracy while they worked to eliminate us from the political and economic life of the society.

Let our attempts to work with the Macedonians be a lesson to our brothers in Kosovo.

Cooperation does not work."

Mr. Georgievski said ethnic Albanian militants were, for the moment, useful allies in his effort to bring down the Macedonian Government.

"It's a paradox," he said. "The only people who know how to fight this Government, and understand how dangerous it is, are the very traitors who want to destroy Macedonia."

U.S., Allies Slap Serbia With Ban On Investments

Los Angeles Times
May 10, 1998
Pg. 1

Balkans: Move aims to force Milosevic to accept mediation in Kosovo crisis.
Top U.S. trouble-shooter meets with Yugoslav president, but they reach no agreement.

By Tyler Marshall
Times Staff Writer

LONDON--Stepping up pressure on Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to end violence in Serbia's Kosovo province, the United States and Western Europe's four leading nations Saturday slapped new sanctions on the Belgrade government while Washington deployed one of its most valued trouble-shooters.

Richard Holbrooke, the American diplomat who brokered peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, arrived in Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia and Serbia, on an emergency peace mission Saturday afternoon and immediately warned of "a wide conflagration" in the Balkans.

Holbrooke's surprise mission came as the United States and its principal European allies agreed to ban all new foreign investment in Serbia as a way to force Milosevic to accept international mediation of the fast-deteriorating crisis in the Albanian-majority province of Kosovo.

The move, taken during a meeting of foreign ministers from the Group of 7 leading industrial nations and Russia--together known as the Group of 8--is the latest in a series of punitive measures aimed at forcing Milosevic to open talks with ethnic Albanians who dominate Kosovo and are demanding independence.

Unlike many previous actions, the investment ban is expected to have a serious impact on the Serbian economy, already devastated by years of war and international isolation.

To drive the point home, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said Holbrooke and President Clinton's special envoy for the Balkans, Robert Gelbard, would attempt to persuade Milosevic to submit the Kosovo crisis to mediation.

"They are going to try to follow through," Albright said. "They are going to try to explain to President Milosevic that the international community wants this dialogue to take place."

In Belgrade, Holbrooke conferred Saturday evening with Milosevic, but the two reached no agreement, according to the official Tanjug news agency. "There are elements of extreme danger and volatility, which if not reversed and checked can spread across international borders," Holbrooke said of Kosovo when talking to reporters.

State television and radio largely ignored Holbrooke's visit and portrayed the new sanctions as another cross for Serbia to bear.

Most state media focused on celebrations marking the anniversary of the end of World War II, noting that Serbs "won against fascism five decades ago" and can fight fascism again.

In London, the eight foreign ministers also decided to implement a freeze agreed to earlier on international funds held by Yugoslavia, the rump state that today includes only Serbia and its small neighbor, Montenegro.

The sanctions were announced in a 16-page communique issued by the ministers that dealt with a series of regional conflicts and global issues, including a broad-based action plan aimed at preserving the global environment.

Albright, together with her counterparts from Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia and Canada, held two days of meetings here, mainly to prepare for next weekend's summit of the G-8 country leaders in Birmingham, England.

The investment ban against Serbia hits at the heart of Milosevic's strategy to keep his economy afloat by selling off state-owned companies, mainly to European investors in return for hard currency.

He has already negotiated the sale of the country's telephone company and had hoped to raise an estimated $1.5 billion through privatizations and foreign investment this year.

The impact of the ban was blunted by Russia's refusal to go along, although Albright

stressed that Moscow agreed as to the seriousness of the crisis in Kosovo.

"They believe President Milosevic reacts better without this type of sanction," Albright said. "We believe he does react to pressure, but there was no disagreement with the assessment of the dangers, and the danger that Kosovo could destabilize the region."

In Moscow, however, a Foreign Ministry official warned that new sanctions could destabilize all of Europe.

Linked to Serbia through Slavic and Orthodox Christian roots, Moscow has consistently urged a softer line toward the Balkan country.

The decision to freeze investment came after five foreign ministers from the six-nation Contact Group responsible for monitoring the shaky peace in the Balkans reached agreement on the fringes of Saturday's meeting of G-8 ministers.

Unlike earlier, prolonged, tortuous meetings, Albright and her counterparts from Britain, France, Italy and Germany appeared to move quickly on the investment ban. Russia disassociated itself from the investment sanction.

The decision was made easier because it came barely 24 hours after Milosevic had summarily rejected mediation after days of hinting that he might accept it.

Former Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, already named as a special international mediator, had been waiting in Brussels, prepared to fly to the region immediately.

In addition to the opening of unconditional dialogue with the aid of foreign mediation, the international community is demanding that Milosevic withdraw his heavily armed special police from Kosovo.

Kosovo, a predominantly Albanian region controlled by Serbs, has long been recognized as an ethnic tinderbox that could quickly ignite further violence across the Balkans.

The latest crisis erupted in February, when a group of armed Albanian radicals advocating independence for Kosovo ambushed Serbian police, triggering a brutal Serbian crackdown.

On Saturday, Serbian police closed Kosovo's main east-west highway after fighting with separatist guerrillas killed at least four ethnic Albanians, Albanian sources said.

The dead included a child and an elderly shepherd caught in the middle of fighting Friday in the village of Balinca and a guerrilla killed in Iglarevo. A fourth Albanian died in separate fighting around Decani in southwest Kosovo.

More than 20,000 ethnic Albanians chanted support for the guerrillas of the underground Kosovo Liberation Army in a peaceful demonstration in the provincial capital, Pristina, on Saturday.

Although remote, sparsely populated and of marginal strategic importance, Kosovo has an important emotional place in Serbian history, a fact that makes it difficult for Milosevic to submit its fate to outside mediation.

Efforts to force Milosevic to a conference table on the Kosovo issue began two months ago in London, when ministers agreed to a package that included a ban on the sale of heavy police equipment that could be used to repress civil dissent and a request for the United Nations to invoke a comprehensive arms embargo against Yugoslavia.

Since these efforts began, conditions in Kosovo have steadily deteriorated as repressive tactics by Serbian authorities to contain the unrest appear to have radicalized an increasing proportion of the Albanian population there.

For Albright, the failure to win international mediation in Kosovo capped a week of frustrating diplomacy that began with equally futile efforts to bring Israeli and Palestinian leaders together for a meeting in Washington aimed at reviving the battered Middle East peace process.

The G-8 communique expressed deep concern at the lack of progress toward a Middle East settlement. U.S. officials said they expected the issue will be taken up next weekend by the G-8 leaders.

Although a lengthy communique issued by the G-8 ministers also welcomed recent political developments in Iran, reaffirmed the international effort to win Iraqi compliance with U.N. weapons inspections and addressed a total of 17 regional flash points, its first 11 points dealt with the task of protecting the global environment and promoting "sustainable development" at a time when many large Third World nations are beginning to experience rapid economic growth.

The ministers endorsed a series of measures aimed at encouraging forest management, conservation and sustainable use of the open seas, and protecting freshwater ecosystems. They also declared that they will work with developing nations "to help put in place relevant sustainable development strategies by 2002 and have implementation underway by 2005."

"The environment for the first time has really taken a front-and-center position as a major foreign policy issue," noted Stuart Eizenstat, U.S. undersecretary of State for economic affairs.

Although the U.S. held out until the final moment late last year before signing the Kyoto treaty to reduce global warming, it has pressed hard to bring developing nations into regimes for sustainable economic growth.

Albright recently instructed the State Department to make environmental issues part of its daily diplomatic activities.

On her recent trip to China, aides said up to a quarter of the six hours of discussions with Chinese leaders was devoted to resolving potential conflict between economic growth and environmental protection.

In London, the U.S. also pushed for a commitment on the part of the eight nations to incorporate environmental standards into the lending practices of all government credit agencies.

Times Vienna Bureau Chief Tracy Wilkinson contributed to this report.

Washington Post May 10, 1998 Pg. C1

In Kosovo, The West Wimps Out

Now Is the Time to Head Off The Next Balkan Bloodbath

By Daniel N. Nelson

As the death toll mounted in Kosovo's incipient war, the Great Powers met in Rome late last month. More words, more flaccid gestures.

Meanwhile, Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic prosecutes his violent crackdown in Yugoslavia's Albanian-dominated province, attempting to crush a nascent separatist guerrilla force, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). About 200 have died in clashes since March, a rate comparable to the early stages of Bosnia's dreadful 3 1/2-year war.

The United States is ostensibly an advocate of more forceful international action. Nevertheless, for the sake of unity, it acquiesces to the major European powers with whom it met in Rome, accepting measures that focus on economic sanctions mixed with promises of relief if Milosevic's Serbia behaves better -- carrots and little sticks against a man, regime and army that accept and advocate genocide.

Years of danger signals about this 90 percent ethnic Albanian province of Yugoslavia had fallen on deaf ears until Milosevic decided in late February to unleash paramilitary killers and the Serbian army to crush the KLA. In so doing, he also unleashed the uncontrollable forces of escalation.

Fueled by a desire for retribution, the fighting in Kosovo will not be negotiated away. History and besa, a word used in Albanian to mean an oath of loyalty or blood revenge, yield the raw material for ethnic nationalism.

Kosovo is tiny, poor and densely populated -- 2 million people in an area smaller than Delaware. It is one of those

places where the origins of each house of worship, and questions such as who arrived first on a piece of land, assume mythical proportions. It is one of those places for which people will die.

To Serbs, it is Kosovo or Metohija. It is the Promised Land of the Serbs, taken by Turks after the Battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389. In Kosovo, Serbs have more religious shrines and monuments per square kilometer than any other region ruled by Belgrade. In Kosovo, in 1989, Milosevic addressed masses of Serbs on the 600th anniversary of Kosovo Polje and -- for all intents and purposes -- called his nation to war.

To Albanians, Kosovo is a homeland as well. From the 1870s, as the Balkans were erupting against Ottoman domination, Kosovo symbolized past glories, a "greater Albania." Particularly during the years of Enver Hoxha's extreme communist dictatorship, escape across the border to Kosovo beckoned to many Albanians.

Yugoslavia's longtime communist leader, Tito, promulgated a constitution in 1974 with ample local autonomy for various republics, including Kosovo. From the late 1960s to the late 1980s, population increases and immigration doubled Kosovo's Albanian population to about 1.8 million.

After Tito's death in 1980, it took but one year for violence to break out in Pristina, Kosovo's capital. Albanian and Serbian nationalism were brought to a boil. Enter Milosevic in 1987, who revoked Kosovo's autonomy and asserted direct militarized rule from Belgrade.

Now, in the Drenica region of Kosovo, where the KLA has had its principal base, people are arming, not accepting defeat by the better-equipped Yugoslav army. And, in the Serbian countryside, the followers of the fanatic Vojislav Seselj -- perhaps the only Serbian who can make Milosevic look moderate -- are gaining strength.

Although the Serbians are far stronger now than their Kosovo opponents, that will change over time. The Albanian diaspora will support the Kosovars with money and human resources, and the sheer number of Albanians in the contiguous region does not give Serbians much of an advantage. Just as many ethnic Albanians live outside Albania -- in Macedonia, Montenegro, Italy, Greece and Western Europe and North America -- as live in Albania. Many have access to considerable wealth.

And, courtesy of the chaos in Albania during 1997, tens of thousands of small arms and light weapons are available for transfer to the Kosovars. The human, financial and military resources for warfare are not in short supply.

An enlarged war can be prevented, but not with mere sanctions. These mean nothing relative to the political importance of crushing the Albanian separatists. Serbians regard the KLA and anyone who sympathizes with it as Islamic terrorists worthy of lethal counter violence.

Why the United States has not acted more forcefully is not hard to fathom. If Bosnia was complex, Kosovo is inscrutable.

To most Americans, there is nothing there -- wherever "there" might be -- to warrant spending money or endangering lives. Congress reflects that ambivalence, comforted by the vague knowledge that we have had many troops in that part of Europe for some time and that should be that. Let someone else handle this one. Peacekeeper burnout and a strong Pentagon antipathy to seeing troops confront women and children throwing stones also militate against getting involved in Kosovo.

American policymakers insist that they are doing a lot -- pushing our allies, particularly Russia, toward more sanctions against Belgrade. They will point to some consensus on maintaining a multilateral presence in neighboring Macedonia, even after the U.N. mandate for about 700 U.S. and Scandinavian troops runs out later this year. They will point to training and advice given to Albania regarding border controls. And, the blunt warnings issued to Milosevic also will be recounted.

We ought not to detract from the efforts of individual American diplomats, whose considerable efforts to avoid a south Balkan war are ongoing.

Yet the real obstacle to American action is the Dayton peace accord. Dayton is our treaty; we made it happen, and it depends on us. Yet, Bosnia is irrevocably divided, and anything but a peaceful, multiethnic, federal state. But the U.S. government is immobilized because of Dayton. We need Milosevic for it to remain semi-stable, and even semi-stability keeps Bosnia off of Christiane Amanpour's itinerary.

Consequently, bold pronouncements by the United States government in December 1992 -- the "Christmas warning" to Milosevic to keep his hands off of Kosovo "or else" -- are no longer repeated. The U.S. government accepts the term "terrorist" when referring to the KLA, regards Kosovo as an integral province of Serbia, and speaks about containing the conflict.

Because of Dayton, settling post-Cold War "ethnic conflicts" is now presumed to require the application of overwhelming force or none at all -- a Colin Powell doctrine redux.

But the United States could take a number of relatively low-cost steps that grow out of a different Balkan experience -- that in Macedonia. There, a trip-wire force of just a few companies of troops drawn from the United States and Scandinavia have provided an enormous boost to stability -- deterring Serbian incursions, but more importantly evincing an American "interest" with a tangible presence. With that presence, domestic political actors have unquestionably moderated their behavior.

The United States could, and should, respond favorably to Albanian Prime Minister Fatos Nano's appeal for a small NATO ground presence along the border with Kosovo. The U.N. follow-on force in Macedonia should be modestly reinforced, building up to 1,000. The president ought to commit another company of U.S. troops and challenge other countries to participate.

Simultaneously, neither the Albanian goal of a separate state tied closely to Tirana, Albania's capital, nor the increasingly evident Serbian goal of partitioning Kosovo accompanied by ethnic cleansing, can be tolerated. A region of considerable autonomy, devoid of Serbian military occupation, is the course of peace.

Little progress will be feasible without a credible threat of force. In the Adriatic and in Italy, attack aircraft should be assembled for possible punitive airstrikes against Serbian military and paramilitary units. Milosevic should know that his forces are vulnerable if they are not withdrawn in a given timetable.

Why should the United States do this? Peace and stability in Europe are important to us. European powers don't act decisively to protect them. Wars that simmer, sputter, explode and then bleed into neighboring regions cannot be neatly contained. Economic loss, population dislocation, crime and drugs that support war, and the lasting poison of retribution, weaken peace and democracy across a wide arc.

If Kosovo becomes the nucleus of a south Balkan war, the United States eventually will be forced to act -- when refugees flee en masse, when Greek and Turkish troops arrive, when Macedonia's peace is shattered, or when Bosnia reignites and Dayton lies in tatters. But by the time we are forced to act, it will be far more dangerous and costly, with far worse chance of success.

Daniel Nelson, professor of international studies at Old Dominion University, is a scholar-in-residence at the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. This essay presents personal views and does not reflect U.S. government policy.

U.S. Backs Indonesian Loans But Cancels Military Exercise

New York Times May 9, 1998 Pg. 1

By David E. Sanger

WASHINGTON, May 8 -- The United States today gave Indonesia $1 billion in loan guarantees, free of any conditions concerning human rights abuses surrounding the protests against President Suharto's rule. Almost simultaneously the Pentagon, citing the unrest, canceled a joint training exercise with the Indonesian military.

The two actions underlined how the Administration has been sending seemingly conflicting signals to Mr. Suharto's Government all week. While the State Department has warned Indonesia several times about the dangers of further repression and the kidnapping of dissidents, it has declined to link those warnings to the aid being sent to ease the country's economic crisis.

Both the new loan program and the Pentagon decision were discussed at the White House this morning, in a meeting to review the rising opposition to President Suharto and the sharp price increases for fuel and other necessities mandated by the International Monetary Fund.

Today the students burned an effigy of Mr. Suharto in the streets of Jakarta. But in Medan, where troops were sent in to back up the police in putting down protests that turned violent earlier this week, demonstrations were peaceful.

The billion-dollar loan package put together by the Export-Import Bank of the United States, an independent Government agency that promotes American exports, was signed here today with Indonesia's Finance Minister, Fuad Bawazier. The president of the Ex-Im Bank, James Harmon, said that by helping Indonesia obtain the raw materials it needs to get its factories running again, "we hope to contribute to stability to calm the social situation."

Earlier this week, the Administration backed down from earlier warnings that it might cut off aid and voted for the resumption of loans to Indonesia by the International Monetary Fund.

It argued that Mr. Suharto had finally begun to meet virtually all the economic commitments it made in return for the loans. But in Jakarta there is abundant evidence that most of the major cartels controlled by Mr. Suharto's family and friends, which are supposed to be broken up under the I.M.F.'s reform program, have resurfaced in different forms.

Major investors have been unwilling to put money back into Indonesia until it is clear that a peaceful transfer of power will take place after the 76-year old Mr. Suharto dies or leaves office. That is one reason the rioting this week sent the Indonesia currency plummeting.

Today, however, Mr. Bawazier said he did not believe that succession was an issue. "We have a system, and everything is quite clear," he said.

The Ex-Im Bank's chief role is to insure that American companies can sell their goods in countries that find it hard to get financing from banks and other private lenders. Typically, the Ex-Im Bank would offer a guarantee to a private bank that the overseas buyer of the American goods will indeed pay back any financing for the purchase, making the lender willing to make the loan.

The American program went ahead only after Indonesia agreed to a second guarantee, that Jakarta would repay Washington in case of any defaults on the loans. But that accord was divorced from the State Department's request earlier this week that Indonesian forces "show restraint" in putting down demonstrations that seem driven as much by anger at the Suharto family as by rage at rising fuel and food prices.

Mr. Harmon said today that he had discussed the loan program with various Administration officials, but received no special guidance.

The Pentagon, clearly worried about its association with the Indonesian military when its troops are suppressing riots and demonstrations, said it was calling off a military training exercise now under way with Indonesia.

Moreover, it is reviewing its entire program of joint command exercises and training with Indonesia, a Defense Department spokesman said. The Pentagon made no formal announcement of the decision. No official would speak on the record.

A White House official argued today that there was no inconsistency in providing further economic aid while pulling back involvement with the military. The American strategy, the official said, is to prevent worsening instability that is triggered by the huge run-up in prices on basic commodities. The prices are increasing for two reasons: the dramatic drop of Indonesia's currency, the rupiah, which makes imports expensive, and the Government's gradual withdrawal of subsidies, which it can no longer afford.

"Our national interest is in seeing the economic reforms go forward," the White House official said. "There is no inherent contradiction between that goal and postponing military exercises until the return of stability."

But senior Administration officials have conceded in recent days that it is a risky strategy. "The bottom line is that there is no way to stabilize the economy without appearing to bolster Suharto," the official said.

Similarly, the military exercises help the United States better understand the Indonesian military -- the most powerful institution in the country -- while appearing to put the Pentagon on the same side as Mr. Suharto's protectors.

United States forces have held 41 training exercises with the Indonesia military since 1993, including courses in counterinsurgency techniques, psychological warfare and military operations in urban areas.

The existence of these exercises came to light in March, surprising and angering some members of Congress who thought they had banned such activities by cutting off funds under an international training and education program in 1992. However, training continued under a separate program; that program was suspended yesterday.

The first ban was imposed after the Indonesian military massacred more than 270 citizens on East Timor in November 1991.

Many of these training missions involve Indonesia's elite Kopassus forces, the arm of the military suspected of the most serious human rights abuses. The Kopassus troops have been deployed in recent months against protesters in Jakarta.

A Pentagon spokesman who asked not to be named said that a month-long training mission that began May 1 was canceled today "because of the current circumstances prevailing in Indonesia." But they may resume in time for two more exercises scheduled later this year.

"There is no permanen suspension of military activities in Indonesia," he said. " Based upon the current situation, there will be a policy-level review, on a case-by-case basis, of future exercises."

Defense News May 11-17, 1998 Pg. 2

Hamre To Decide DD-21 Acquisition Strategy

Deputy Defense Secretary John Hamre is expected to decide how to salvage the U.S. Navy's DD-21 acquisition strategy in May 12 meetings with Pentagon procurement officials.

Hamre will receive the recommendations of Jacques Gansler, Pentagon procurement chief, and John Douglass, Navy acquisition chief, on how to inject more competition into the estimated $25 billion ship program.

Washington Times May 9, 1998 Pg. 2

Americans fear China more than Russia

Most think nuclear arms will spread

By Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Most Americans fear nuclear attack by China or by terrorists more than they dread Russia's strategic arsenal, according to a new public opinion poll.

The survey, released recently by the Henry L. Stimson Center, found that 90 percent of Americans believe nuclear weapons will spread to countries that don't have them now.

According to the poll — based on discussion groups in Baltimore and a nationwide telephone sampling of 800 "swing" voters from both major political parties — nuclear weapons proliferation and the use of a nuclear bomb rank as high in people's minds as the problems of crime, race relations and education.

The survey provides a rare look at public attitudes toward international security issues since the end of the Cold War, a period dominated by domestic issues.

Based on the survey, 33 percent of the American people believe terrorists' use of nuclear weapons is a danger, and 21 percent view China as a strategic nuclear threat, the highest percentages in the poll.

By contrast, Russia, the United States' main Cold War enemy, is perceived today as a threat by just 6 percent of those surveyed. Iraq is viewed as a threat by 12 percent, Iran by 9 percent and North Korea by 4 percent.

The Clinton administration's policy is to play down China's strategic threat in favor of leading the Chinese toward democracy through increased trade.

The poll results on China come as President Clinton is preparing for a major summit with Chinese President Jiang Zemin in Beijing set for late June.

The CIA reported last month that 13 of China's 18 long-range strategic nuclear missiles are aimed at U.S. cities. Congress and the Justice Department also are investigating whether U.S. companies improperly shared space technology that improved China's strategic missiles.

According to the poll, 76 percent of respondents said they believe the United States could be attacked within 10 years by terrorists who would smuggle nuclear bombs into the country.

Michael Pillsbury, a defense official in the Reagan and Bush administrations, said the wide perception of China as a threat is probably the result of the confrontation with the United States near Taiwan in 1996, when China fired several test missiles and two U.S. aircraft carriers were dispatched to the region.

"This is the price Beijing must pay for its missile diplomacy against Taiwan's presidential election in March 1996, which contradicted China's decade of 'peace diplomacy,' " Mr. Pillsbury said in an interview from Beijing.

Mr. Pillsbury said Chinese military officers told him that test missiles may again be fired near Taiwan later this year. If so, "the percentage of Americans who see China as a threat will go even higher," he said.

John Parachini of the Monterey Institute's Center for Nonproliferation Studies, who helped to conduct the survey, said Russia still poses a greater threat because of its vast nuclear arsenal and the surrounding social and economic chaos that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

The survey found that 66 percent of respondents favor taking nuclear weapons off alert; 29 percent say the weapons should be kept on alert.

The survey has a sampling error of plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

The Stimson Center commissioned the poll on behalf of the liberal Committee for Nuclear Policy.

Washington Times
May 11, 1998
Pg. 18

Bring Belarus into the democratic community

Your May 5 article "Russia raises stakes against NATO" unjustly creates the notion that Russia and its allies may be confronted by a "series of small but ugly crises." It cites Polish-Belarus relations as an example.

I would like to make it absolutely clear that there are no such "strains" in bilateral relations between Poland and Belarus (although there are a number of problems related to the fact that basic standards of democratic conduct are not observed in Belarus).

Poland and Belarus enjoy an extensive political dialogue based on an impressive legal infrastructure. More important, they have extensive cultural and people-to-people contacts, with several million people crossing the border both ways each year. Such intensive border traffic calls for structural legal solutions that both sides acknowledge.

At the same time, because Poland currently holds the presidency of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Poland feels obligated to initiate and coordinate political activities of the OSCE as a whole. We see our role in OSCE, first and foremost, in the prevention of conflicts, consolidation of OSCE's "human dimension" and support of the processes of democratic reconstruction of those states that have until recently been authoritarian or are still ruled in such a manner.

The scope and character of our relations with Belarus will depend to a large extent on developments in that country and on the position it takes with regard to important international matters.

For Poland, an independent and democratic Belarus is important to the stability of our continent. The foreign minister of Poland has openly pledged to cooperate with the European Union and OSCE on the restoration of democratic principles to the political life of Belarus. We will strive to maintain broad, bilateral economic, cultural and social relations.

Poland came forward last year with an idea to co-organize roundtable discussions between representatives of Belarus' government and opposition on economic problems, democracy and human rights. It is not the intention of Poland to isolate Belarus, but rather to overcome Belarus' self-isolation and to facilitate its return to the community of democratic states.

BOGUSLAW M. MAJEWSKI
Minister counselor
Embassy of the Republic of Poland
Washington

Editor's Note: The article referred to appeared in the *Current News Early Bird*, May 4, 1998, Pg. 1.

New York Times May 11, 1998

Another Land Mine Retreat

The Clinton Administration has already drawn worldwide criticism for its refusal to join an international treaty banning land mines. Now, at the urging of the Pentagon, it seems ready to undo even the modest steps it has taken to reduce American reliance on this crude weapon. The Administration is trying to repeal a one-year moratorium on the use of land mines, due to go into effect next February, that Congress and President Clinton himself endorsed two years ago.

The moratorium, which is likely to be only symbolic, is nevertheless worthwhile. It was passed as a way to encourage the Pentagon to develop alternatives to land mines, especially in destroying enemy tanks. The Pentagon contends that it needs to continue using "mixed" mines -- anti-tank mines that are salted with anti-personnel mines to keep enemy soldiers from taking them apart quickly.

The moratorium might be worth sacrificing if in exchange the Pentagon would lift its objections to the international treaty to ban land mines. Some 125 nations have signed the treaty. The United States declined, principally because the treaty would outlaw the mixed mines.

The President said in November that he would sign if the Pentagon could find alternatives to mixed mines, and to the use of mines in Korea.

Now, however, there are signs that the Administration is backtracking even from that qualified support of the treaty.

Many military officials acknowledge that anti-personnel mines are far more of a threat than a protection for American soldiers. American-made mines were the leading cause of American casualties in Vietnam. The military's fears do not justify the survival of a weapon that continues to kill civilians for decades after a war ends.

Mr. Clinton should simply decide to stop giving the Pentagon a veto over a land mine treaty that is clearly in America's -- and American soldiers' -- best interests.

Washington Post May 10, 1998 Pg. C6

When Mysteries Are Unveiled

THE UNKNOWN Soldier, a powerful symbol in countless war memorials worldwide, evokes not just sadness and honor but humility before the limits of our own knowledge. One soldier, rendered unrecognizable by the sufferings of war, is honored in place of all those whose experiences we will never know. That resonance may partly account for the prickle of unease felt by many as the Pentagon prepares to exhume one of the four Unknown Soldiers memorialized at Arlington Cemetery and to perform DNA testing to determine whether he is Air Force 1st Lt. Michael Blassie, who was shot down in Vietnam in May 1972 and whose dog tags and parachute were recovered with the remains that now lie in the crypt. If modern forensic science can lift the veil from the Unknown Soldier, people wonder, what happens to our sense of awe and respect before the dead?

Despite this unease, Defense Secretary William Cohen did the right thing in accepting the recommendation of a task force that the wishes of Lt. Blassie's family be honored in this matter. The choice had an extra Solomonic edge because, while the Blassie family members have said they long for certainty and for a proper family reburial of their relative, the family of the other soldier whose remains these might be -- Army Capt. Rodney Strobridge -- say they have already reached emotional resolution of a sort and do not want to go through it again. There is also the possibility -- as high as 50 percent -- that the tests will be unable to get enough genetic material for a clear match. The temptation simply to leave the mystery alone is understandable.

But however keen our attachment to and need for this symbol, a symbol based on a mystery artificially maintained cannot truly meet that need for long. As science makes possible the identification of more war dead, to the point where the military predicts hardly any "unknown" remains in future wars, the inhabitants of the ever more knowable world will need to find -- and surely will find -- other ways to meet that need for ceremony. Those new symbols aren't yet known, but they will arise in response to the times. There will always be things we cannot know about the experiences of soldiers in war.

New York Times May 10, 1998

To Prevent A Wider War In Kosovo

The long-simmering tensions in Serbia's province of Kosovo turned violent in recent weeks and threaten to ignite a wider war in the Balkans. Only a concerted diplomatic effort by the United States can keep the conflict from escalating. Though he has been attentive to the problem, President Clinton must do more to take the lead with European nations to insure that Kosovo is not left adrift.

Since Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian leader, stripped Kosovo of its autonomy in 1989, Kosovo's overwhelmingly Albanian population has engaged in mostly peaceful resistance. It brought them nothing but more repression. In recent months, an Albanian guerrilla army has emerged, targeting mainly Serb policemen. The guerrilla campaign has angered Serbs and given Mr. Milosevic an excuse to bomb villages and carry out indiscriminate attacks. He appears to be trying to push the 1.8 million Albanians out of Kosovo entirely.

A war in Kosovo, massacres of Albanians or a rush of refugees into Albania and Macedonia could bring those two neighboring countries into the conflict. It might also destabilize the fragile peace in Bosnia and flood Turkey with refugees. Even Turkey and Greece, ancient enemies, might be tempted to intervene to enhance their influence in the Balkans, especially if Macedonia is in chaos.

International responsibility for dealing with the Kosovo crisis rests primarily with the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Germany and Russia. Acting together as the Contact Group, they are trying to force Mr. Milosevic to accept internationally supervised negotiations with the Albanians. But the group has proven ineffectual because its powers are limited and some members, notably Russia, oppose strong pressure against Serbia. The group has frozen Serbia's assets abroad and this weekend imposed on new foreign investment in Serbia. The sanctions, however, are impossible to enforce among countries outside the Contact Group and difficult even inside it, given Russia's views.

When President Clinton meets Boris Yeltsin later this week at the annual economic summit meeting, he should seek more Russian cooperation in pressuring Serbia. He is sending a high-level delegation to Belgrade this weekend to say that Serbia will remain isolated if fighting continues. But there is little indication that Mr. Milosevic cares.

The White House has not ruled out the use of force to prevent Serbian aggression in Kosovo, but other, intermediate steps should be used before Mr. Clinton considers military action. NATO at this stage can play an important role by increasing its visibility in the region. NATO soldiers ought to be added to a peacekeeping force already based in Macedonia, and a similar group should be stationed in the north of Albania to secure the border and control weapons smuggling. But NATO should also push Mr. Milosevic to accept NATO observers in Kosovo, which he might do if he fears the guerrillas are growing too fast. If Western nations cannot muster a clear and unified message to Mr. Milosevic to restrain his army, he will unleash a new round of ethnic killing in the Balkans.

INSIDE THE RING
by Ernest Blazar

Washington Times
May 11, 1998
Pg. 7

Army stretch

The Army made a hard decision when it decided recently which of its 10 divisions to send next to Bosnia-Herzegovina for peacekeeping duties.

On April 16, the Army announced that the headquarters and one of three brigades from the 1st Cavalry Division in Fort Hood, Texas, will deploy to Bosnia this fall. It marks the first time the Army has picked a stateside division for such non-combat work.

The Bosnia-bound 1st Cav is one of four Army divisions kept at a heightened state of alert in case of war. Another, the 3rd Infantry Division, has its headquarters and a brigade in Kuwait temporarily to deter Iraq. That means last month's decision will basically tie down large pieces of one-half the Army's first-to-fight units.

"What it does is stretch an already thin Army," said a recently retired Army general, who asked not to be identified. "It was a tough decision to make because of the political signal it sends."

Army officials say two Europe-based Army divisions had to be freed from the three-year burden of the Bosnia peacekeeping mission. Such decisions are made only with the consent of U.S. regional commanders in Korea or the Persian Gulf.

"There is always a risk," Army Maj. Gen. James P. O'Neal told Inside the Ring. "I would not characterize it as more or less." But trade-offs were needed: "We certainly had to take some steps to moderate the risk." He directs operations at the Army's Atlanta-based Forces Command, which controls all stateside Army units.

Key to figuring that risk is deciding what impact there is on an Army division when its headquarters and one its brigades are sent overseas — a matter of some debate.

Privately, Army officers maintain that in today's tight budget it takes a whole division's worth of people and parts to support an overseas brigade and headquarters. So a decision to send parts of 1st Cav to Bosnia this fall, with parts of the 3rd Infantry Division in Kuwait, means the Army will soon have only half of its quick-response capability.

Publicly, the Army says that's not accurate. Though temporarily separated, the divisions can reconstitute quickly.

In the case of 1st Cav — now trading their M1 Abrams tanks for peacekeeping gear — "you will not see quote — a broken division — end quote," said Gen. O'Neal.

Chaotic debate

The Pentagon is fond of high technology. And rightly so, given the advantage modern equipment such as night-vision equipment, laser-guided bombs and computers provide the warrior.

That love of technology has given rise in recent years to a seductive and new American military idea: that computers and sensors can remove the friction and fog that makes war unpredictable. This so-called "Revolution in Military Affairs" can provide "the ability to see and understand everything on the battlefield," say advocates.

But that kind of "technophilia" — as critics call it — might be not only misleading, but dangerous, says one military analyst.

"As long as war involves human beings," wrote Mackubin T. Owens, a U.S. Naval War College professor, "no technology can completely eliminate friction, ambiguity and uncertainty or ensure that a military organization will function at 100 percent effectiveness." And, he warns, anyone in uniform who forgets this will incur high costs on the battlefield, he wrote in the spring 1998 issue of Strategic Review, a leading military journal.

His article is a persuasive critique of a leading Pentagon concept.

Mr. Owens argues that no matter what kind of technology a military force employs, war's chaos and uncertainty can never be eliminated. That's because war is inextricably defined by "human nature, [its] complexities . . . and the limitations of human mental and physical capabilities" — all of which defy measure or prediction by machines, systems, data or sensors.

Consequently, Mr. Owens, a Marine infantry combat veteran of Vietnam, cautions that the U.S. military courts danger if its officers worship only technology. Despite technology's allure, emphasis must forever be given to "high recruiting standards, quality training and operational readiness," he says.

Follow the money

Within days of receiving an "emergency" $1.8 billion reimbursement from Congress for the unplanned costs of deployments to Bosnia and Iraq this year, the Pentagon announced last week it needed a new favor. It needs Congress' OK to move — or "reprogram" — about $1 billion internally to keep tanks rolling, planes flying and ships steaming this summer. The Air Force plans to redirect at least $600 million, the Army $300 million, from ill-defined "efficiencies" and "savings" toward near empty spare parts, fuel and training accounts.

It shows the Pentagon has underfunded its combat forces.

"It's readiness, that's what it is," said an Army spokesperson. "The things it takes to keep an Army running." Don't count on that to fix everything. The Air Force is already working on a $950 million reprogramming request for next year.

Commandant's candor

"I am a half billion dollars short of what I need. . . . It will take a long time to recover from the cumulative effects of low [defense spending] during the budget deficit years. . . . I believe that we [can] have a 21st century Marine Corps that will be effective, efficient and affordable — but I cannot execute the plan without additional funds."

— Marine Commandant Gen. Chuck Krulak, in testimony and a March 25 letter to the Senate Armed Services Committee reprinted by the panel in its mark-up of the fiscal 1999 defense authorization bill.

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Washington Times May 11, 1998 Pg. 14

Embassy Row

by James Morrison

Thanks from Hungary

Hungary is showing its gratitude for U.S. Senate approval of the treaty to expand NATO.

"This is the first time the United States Senate has accepted us as allies," Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs said at a ceremony last week in Budapest.

"Our countries were on opposite sides in two world wars and in the Cold War as well."

Mr. Kovacs was joined by Jer-

emy Rosner, the U.S. special envoy for NATO enlargement, and by Peter Tufo, the U.S. ambassador to Hungary. Mr. Tufo announced that Hungary and the United States have agreed to establish a task force to deal with all issues involving the country's entry into the alliance.

Mr. Rosner said the 80-19 vote in favor of the admission of Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic sent a clear message.

"In short, I believe that the message in the bipartisan vote was, 'Welcome home,' " Mr. Rosner said.

"Hungary's role will be as a full ally, with full guarantees and also full responsibilities."

He added that Hungary, where 85 percent of voters approved a NATO membership referendum last year, is already acting like an ally by providing peacekeeping troops for Bosnia.

Mr. Rosner dismissed criticism from opponents of NATO enlargement who worried about angering Russia.

"Critics of this initiative often argue that NATO enlargement will lead to the deterioration of relations with Russia, [but] we always felt very strongly that it is possible to continue to build a close relationship with a democratic Russia even as enlargement goes forward," he said.

'Mighty Mo' set for final journey

Pacific Stars & Stripes
May 11, 1998
Pg. 1

★ After years of controversy, the USS Missouri will be tugged to Pearl Harbor to be used as a museum.

BY R.J. KELLY
Stripes Senior Writer

TOKYO — Historians call her "Mighty Mo," and by the end of June the battleship USS Missouri will call Pearl Harbor home.

The exact date the ship, on whose decks Japan surrendered to Allied forces to end World War II, will tie up at the base where the war began for the United States is unclear. But Pentagon sources expect the Missouri to arrive at Pacific Fleet's Pier Foxtrot 5 on Ford Island by June 22.

After several years of controversy and a heated battle by four cities vying to be the last call for the 887-foot battleship, Secretary of the Navy John Dalton last week officially donated the ship to the Honolulu-based USS Missouri Memorial Association.

The private, nonprofit group of business representatives, retired sailors and historians plans to open the ship as a museum next January, association President Roy Yee said.

The harbor at Pacific Fleet headquarters is familiar waters for the Missouri. The ship first steamed into Pearl Harbor on Christmas Eve 1944, on its way to bringing its awesome firepower to bear against the Japanese.

Considered the Navy's greatest battleship, the Missouri's trademark 16-inch guns blasted enemy forces during the fierce Battle of Okinawa in June 1945 and earned five battle stars during the Korean War before being decommissioned in 1955.

Reactivated in 1986, the Missouri showed the flag around the world for several years and fired Tomahawk missiles at Iraqi targets during the Persian Gulf War in 1991.

The ship was finally mothballed in 1992.

For all its battle glory, however, the Mighty Mo is most remembered as the place of peace. Japan officially surrendered aboard the ship in Tokyo Bay on Sept. 2, 1945.

Given the unpredictability of the arrival date, Yee said no special ceremonies have been scheduled at Pearl Harbor.

Pacific naval headquarters has a liaision representative in contact with the memorial association, but is not playing a direct role in development of the private memorial, said Pacific Fleet spokesman Jon Yoshishige.

Since the ship will be going to a Navy pier, the Navy is involved, Lee said, "but we're paying our way."

Capital improvements on the ship and the museum site will cost about $14 million, Lee said.

After about three years at the temporary Foxtrot 5 site, the Missouri is to move to a permanent berth about three-quarters of a mile from the USS Arizona Memorial.

The Arizona Memorial, built over the sunken battleship that exploded and entombed nearly 1,000 sailors during the Dec. 7 Japanese raid, "is the largest attraction in Hawaii," Yee said.

Although the association sees the Missouri and the Arizona Memorial as a natural historical combination, not everyone agrees.

Ever since the Navy announced in January 1996 that the Missouri, mothballed at Bremerton, Wash., would be released for use as a public museum, several cities fought for the rights.

Besides Honolulu and Bremerton, Long Beach, Calif., and San Francisco sought the famous ship as a tourist attraction.

The Washington Post reported in September 1997 that opponents of the Pearl Harbor location claimed that "apart from the physical overshadowing of the Arizona Memorial, the noise from thousands of visitors on the Missouri's decks and, possibly, from (tour loudspeakers) ... would destroy the dignity and solemnity of the memorial."

Dalton opted for the Honolulu site in August 1996, but competing cities continued their challenge.

"I am confident that the Missouri Memorial Association and the people of the state of Hawaii will provide the battleship Missouri with the honored position in history that she holds," Dalton said in an adress last week.

The Navy said a commercial tugboat will soon tow the Missouri to a mooring on the Columbia River at Astoria, Ore.

U.S. News & World Report May 18, 1998 Pg. 10

WASHINGTON WHISPERS

Wild Blue Protest

The next Big Gender Stink in the Air Force will be made by men. Up to 15 fighter pilots from the New York Air National Guard plan this week to dump dozens of medals they've earned on the steps of the Capitol in Washington.

The gesture is intended as a protest of firings and demotions that resulted from a controversial dispute over a female pilot. The case dates to 1993, when New York's top National Guard official invited Maj. Jacquelyn Parker, a retired Air Force cargo pilot, to be one of the Air Guard's first female fighter jockeys. Two years later Parker failed her F-16 training with the 174th Fighter Wing in Syracuse and resigned, complaining that she'd been treated poorly and hindered in her training.

An Air Force investigation supported her claims, leading to disciplinary action against 12 pilots. But a much longer report by the New York inspector general, quietly released just before Christmas last year, found flaws in that report and in the way senior Air Guard leaders recruited Parker.

Though it also faulted some of the 174th's commanders, the pilots hoped they would get their old jobs back. So far they haven't. They're hoping the Capitol Hill event will improve their fortunes.

Washington Post May 10, 1998 Pg. 1

Marine Hearing Yields Clearer Picture Of Cable Car Tragedy

By Steve Vogel
Washington Post Staff Writer

CAMP LEJEUNE, N.C.— Route AV047 was popular with Marine pilots at Aviano Air Base near Venice. Flying their jets through the Trentino-Alto Adige region in the Northern Italian Alps, the crews got an exhilarating and challenging ride over mountain lakes and valleys with the pink peaks of the Dolomites towering nearby.

As they prepared to take off from Aviano at 2:35 on the afternoon of Feb. 3, crew members of the training flight designated Easy 01 were excited about their mission -- the first along that route for several of them, including the pilot, Capt. Richard Ashby. They even put a video camera in the front cockpit of their EA-6B Prowler with the apparent intention of capturing the scenery on tape.

An alluring combination of beauty and danger -- along with fatal miscalculations and oversights -- apparently contributed to one of the deadliest training accidents in NATO history. New information that emerged during a four-day military hearing last week at this Marine camp near Jacksonville, N.C., paints a vivid picture of the fatal Easy 01 flight. The hearing, the first of two to determine whether the crew should face court-martial, did not include testimony from the crewmen themselves and did not conclusively establish why the Prowler was flying so low when it struck a ski-lift cable at an estimated altitude of 364 feet. But it produced enough testimony to move beyond controversy and official silence, providing a more comprehensive picture of the disaster.

The low-flying Prowler, it was acknowledged by all, sliced the cable holding a ski gondola on Mount Cermis and sent the 20 people inside falling 300 feet to their deaths on the valley floor near the town of Cavalese.

Repercussions are still being felt. The accident has rekindled resentment among some European politicians and citizens about the U.S. military presence in Italy. It has forced the Marines to reevaluate training and flight procedures. And it has threatened the careers and freedom of four Marine officers, accused by their government of involuntary manslaughter but termed by their defenders as scapegoats.

The crew members -- Ashby; the navigator, Capt. Joseph Schweitzer; and two officers sitting in the rear cockpit, Capt. Chandler Seagraves and Capt. William L. Raney II -- are described as talented, well-regarded officers by government and defense witnesses alike. None has previously displayed a tendency for reckless behavior.

Likewise, their squadron, VMAQ-2, is a well-regarded unit with no pattern of reckless behavior.

Yet almost everyone in the unit, from the squadron commander down, professed ignorance of a 2,000-foot minimum altitude their aircraft should have been observing, even though information about it was available in the squadron's ready room and in the Prowlers' cockpits.

VMAQ-2, normally based at the Marine Air Station in Cherry Point, N.C., had deployed to Aviano in August to support the NATO peacekeeping mission in Bosnia. In the waning days of its six-month deployment, the squadron was assigned some low-level training missions before returning to North Carolina.

The Prowler, 59 feet long with a wingspan of 53 feet, is a four-seat plane designed to jam enemy radar and communications and prevent strikes on U.S. fighter aircraft. Unlike fighters, the two-engine Prowler is a relatively slow, subsonic plane, nicknamed "Sky Pig" by its pilots.

"We're sitting ducks if we're attacked," said Maj. Stephen Nitschke, a Prowler pilot. "That's why we go the lower altitudes. That's why we train down there."

But the squadron had not had much time to practice low-level flying since arriving in Italy, spending most of its time flying uneventful sorties over Bosnia, noncombat missions involving no low-level flying. And so flight Easy 01 was put in the schedule to keep the crew sharp.

Capt. Michael Recce, the operations officer, gave the crew a flight briefing at 12:15 p.m. The crew was scheduled to perform a low-level mission using navigational aids to follow the prescribed route. Recce told the crew that their minimum allowed altitude would be 1,000 feet -- as had been the case throughout the deployment -- despite the 2,000-foot rule.

Loading the aircraft after the briefing, the crew took along one piece of nonregulation equipment: a video camera. While not officially permitted to do so, many crew members videotape their flights for souvenirs.

The video camera and plastic wrapper of a videotape were found in the front cockpit after the flight. Because the pilot and navigator must concentrate on flying during low-altitude training, shooting videos would usually be done by the backseaters, who would not be operating their electronic warfare equipment on a training mission. If either of the frontseaters was operating a video camera during a low-altitude flight, "at the very least, their situational awareness goes way down," said Lt. Col. Richard Muegge, the squadron commander.

The plane took off from Aviano at 2:35 p.m with clear weather and no wind. Several of the six legs of route AV047 took the plane over skiing areas. The crew members later said that they were unaware of the ski areas along their route. Testimony at the hearing did not bear this out.

"There was common knowledge throughout the squadron that there were ski areas," said Muegge.

Ashby, Schweitzer and Raney had gone skiing or snowboarding in the region, according to squadron members. And maps carried on the plane showed aerial cableways throughout the area, including one near Cavalese, the site of the disaster.

The first leg of Easy 01, over high mountains without valleys, was uneventful. During the second leg, through mountainous terrain with valleys, witnesses reported seeing the jet flying low and at high speeds. Recorded data from the plane's instruments put the aircraft well below the 1,000 foot-limit.

In the third and fourth legs, over populated flatlands, the data show Easy 01 above 1,000 feet. During the fifth leg, over Lago di Garda, the data are inconclusive. Although the maximum allowable speed was 450 knots, the jet maintained speeds between 451 to 555 knots for the bulk of the time it was below 2,000 feet, according to a Marine report.

Reaching the sixth and final leg around 3 p.m., the jet turned right in the vicinity of the town of Molina di Fiemme. Numerous witnesses reported the jet flying very low and very fast.

At 3:10 p.m, the big, yellow Mount Cermis cable car started down the mountain for the mile-long trip to a base station near Cavalese. On board were the operator and 19 skiers, including eight visitors from eastern Germany and tourists from Italy, Poland, the Netherlands and Austria.

At the same time, Easy 01 was soaring up the Val di Fiemme, at speeds estimated as high as 543 knots. During the last seven miles, mission data estimates the plane's altitude at between 301 and 436 feet. Defense and government witnesses were at a loss to explain why a jet would be traveling that fast at that height.

Ashby -- who later told his commander that he "felt I was at 1,000 feet, right where I needed to be" -- said he was stunned to suddenly see a cable stretching across the valley, looking as if it would cut off

his head. With his jet traveling at over eight miles a minute, there was almost no time to react. He put his stick forward as far as it would go in an attempt to avoid the cable.

Schweitzer, feeling the jet jerk, said in a statement that he looked up from his navigation chart and was shocked to see a wire.

In the rear cockpit, Seagraves "was looking behind to his left, down the sloping terrain," he later told Capt. Marcus Moore, a squadron pilot who testified. "He heard two thuds, and thought it may be a bird."

Seagraves heard one of the crew members in the front call out, "Climb, climb, climb!"

But it was too late.

At 3:12 p.m., the jet struck the cable with such force that a 32,000-pound counterbalance at the cable car station was lifted about 30 feet into the air before crashing back to the deck. The gondola plummeted to the floor of the valley.

The Prowler was badly damaged, suffering an 18-inch-deep gash two-and-one-half inches wide in its right wing. Seagraves prepared to eject. Leaking hydraulic fluid and fuel, the plane nevertheless made it back to Aviano 14 minutes later.

The crew members tumbled into the ready room, in shock, their faces reportedly drained of color. Schweitzer, extremely distraught, spoke of seeing the yellow flash of a gondola and asked for information about what had happened.

Within an hour, his and everyone else's worst fears were confirmed as the scope of the disaster at Cavalese became clear.

Soon after the accident, Italian investigators recovered the video camera and tape from the cockpit. The tape, still being held by Italy, shows nothing but black. American investigators have requested permission to examine the tape to see whether it might have been erased.

A decision whether to court-martial the crew members awaits the conclusion of a second hearing scheduled for June 15.

Washington Post May 9, 1998 Pg. 5

Outside Review Of Sexual Misconduct

Charges Sought At Navy Base

By Bradley Graham
Washington Post
Staff Writer

After a spate of sexual misconduct charges involving five instructors at the Navy's boot camp and advanced training school in Illinois, the commander of the training center has requested a special outside investigation into the procedures for selecting and monitoring supervisors, Navy officials disclosed yesterday.

The decision by Rear Adm. Kevin Green signaled unusual concern about conditions at a facility that Navy authorities had held up as a model of discipline and proper relations between the sexes. The Great Lakes Naval Training Center is the first stop in the Navy for about 50,000 recruits each year, providing a 9 1/2-week course of basic instruction to young sailors, about 14 percent of them female.

Although the center has experienced a handful of sexual misconduct cases in each of the last several years, Green said yesterday that he grew alarmed by both the number and nature of the allegations that have emerged this year. With the arrest last week of an instructor on charges not only of fraternization but abuse of authority and obstruction of justice, Green said he decided to call in the Navy's inspector general for a wider probe.

"Any time there are allegations of coercion or obstruction of justice, that goes beyond just consensual relations," the admiral said. "I'm not satisfied in investigating just one case. I want to have full confidence in the system."

The instructor taken into custody last week was identified as Petty Officer 2nd Class John Lukes. Navy sources said a recent female graduate of boot camp told authorities in late April that she had seen the 30-year-old Lukes exiting a hotel with another recent female graduate, age 18.

Three other instructors are awaiting court-martial on charges of fraternization and sexual harassment. One of them, Petty Officer 1st Class Ralph McMillan, was named recruit division commander of the year in 1997 by school authorities. According to a school spokesman, investigators began probing his behavior after he was reported seen kissing a recruit on a bench.

The four are among 533 recruit division commanders, enlisted men responsible for the development and training of recruits at the base, about 30 miles north of Chicago.

"Although two of the four accused knew each other, these cases appear to be separate, distinct and unrelated," according to a statement released by the school yesterday. "In all these cases, the alleged violation was reported by a recruit, a staff member or a bystander who saw something wrong and acted in accordance with our own core values."

A fifth case involves an instructor with the Service Schools Command, which provides advanced training to sailors who have completed the boot camp course. He is facing allegations of sexual misconduct with two students.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch May 8, 1998

Army Scraps Plan To Burn Chemical Waste In Sauget

By Bill Lambrecht, Post-Dispatch Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON After a slew of objections, the Army on Thursday scrapped a plan to ship military waste from a Pacific island to an incinerator in Sauget.

The Army said in a statement that officials changed their minds "based on concerns expressed by the community." The Army wanted to ship the hazardous material from Johnston Island to Trade Waste Incineration in Illinois for disposal.

"It's an unfortunate situation," said James Bacon, manager of the Army's chemical decontamination program, "because the concern was over something that was, in essence, less potent than ordinary household bleach."

Rep. Jerry Costello, D-Belleville, who met with Army officials on Thursday, said that his office had received nearly 150 complaints about the proposal since the Post-Dispatch reported on it Sunday. His Metro East district includes Sauget.

"I'm glad we were able to head it off," said Costello. The officials didn't tell him what the Army will do next, he added.

Johnston Island is a military installation 850 miles southwest of Hawaii that serves as a storehouse for chemical weapons. The Army asked the Environmental Protection Agency last month for emergency authority to begin filling truck-size containers with liquids from leaking drums for shipment to the continental United States.

The EPA this week denied the Army's request to cut off the public comment period.

The waste in question came from rinsing old containers. Materials include mercury, arsenic and other heavy metals, along with trace amounts of mustard, a volatile liquid used in warfare as a poison gas because of its blistering and disabling effects.

Costello said that the Army professed no interest during the meeting in disposing the materials in a $200 million incinerator on Johnston Island. The Army uses that incinerator to destroy chemical weapons, a task ordered by Congress 13 years ago. Army officials contend that while the incinerator may be capable, it lacks federal

permits to handle heavy metal waste and is expensive to operate.

"I expressed my opinion that cost should not be the No. 1 factor when considering the health and safety of the American people," Costello said.

The unknown fate of the Johnston island waste adds to the Pentagon's quandary over disposing weapons and the hazardous leftovers of war. The first trainload of Vietnam-era napalm scheduled for disposal in Midwestern incinerators returned to California last month after public protests. The Pentagon provoked a new debate this week by seeking authorization in Congress to import hazardous PCBs (polychlorinated biphenyls) for incineration.

As far as the Johnston Island wastes, Army officials did not respond to an inquiry about what options are being considered. Chemical Waste Management, which operates the Sauget facility, has an incinerator in Port Arthur, Texas, that could handle the waste.

Craig Williams, of Chemical Weapons Working Group, said his watchdog organization has recommended that the Army place the material in safe containers and keep it on the island while searching for ways to neutralize it. "I hope they consider their options from a technical point of view rather than from a geographical point of view," he said.

Washington Post May 9, 1998 Pg. 9

Ft. Meade Theft Probe Looks At NSA Guards

By Peter S. Goodman
Washington Post
Staff Writer

Federal authorities are investigating whether 11 members of the police force that guards the National Security Agency stole some 50,000 rounds of ammunition from their garrison at Fort George G. Meade, officials confirmed yesterday.

The investigation, first reported by the Baltimore Sun, was triggered by findings in a separate NSA probe, the sources said, declining to provide details. NSA investigators, joined by agents with the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, are pursuing reports of the stolen ammunition, officials said.

No one has been arrested in connection with the investigation, which is nearing completion, according to an NSA statement released yesterday afternoon.

The Fort Meade-based National Security Agency is a central part of the federal government's intelligence-gathering apparatus, a high-tech listening post in western Anne Arundel County charged with breaking codes and providing other government agencies with gleanings from faraway nations.

What goes on behind the walls of the compound north of Laurel is well hidden from public view.

The agency is so devoted to secrecy that it does not provide Anne Arundel officials with estimates of its work force to help the county in planning road projects.

According to an NSA statement, the investigation is focusing on the agency's Security Protective Officer force, which is responsible for policing the grounds.

Federal officials, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said the officers, whom they would not name, reportedly stole "small-caliber ammunition" of the sort suitable for the .38-caliber handguns they typically carry.

The officials said it was not clear what the officers did with the ammunition -- whether they had sold it or used it themselves.

One official characterized 50,000 rounds as "not a lot of ammunition. . . . That would normally be a small-scale investigation."

The officials said investigators did take possession of an undisclosed number of grenades and rifles as part of their probe but established clearly that these were not NSA property.

Assuming the stolen ammunition was .38-caliber, 50,000 rounds would have a retail value of less than $14,000, said Mike McAdams, owner of AArundel Arms and Ammunition in Annapolis.

He said that much ammunition would supply a dozen people with sufficient firepower to visit a shooting range perhaps two dozen times.

The officials said that two of the officers implicated in the probe are sergeants. They said several of the officers have recently left their jobs, all of them voluntarily, in the wake of word that they were being investigated.

Until May 1, when he resigned, William R. Fabus was the sergeant who oversaw ammunition for the force.

Reached by phone yesterday at his home in the Baltimore suburb of Catonsville, Fabus said he left the job of his own accord, ending a decade-long career on the force.

"My record states that I voluntarily resigned to pursue other opportunities in my career field," he said, adding that he is now circulating his resume among several companies and law enforcement agencies. "I don't believe that I was forced out of there because I did something wrong."

Fabus said many members of the force enjoyed hunting, himself included.

"Many people shoot recreationally," he said.

Fabus declined to discuss the system used by the force to safeguard its ammunition.

He said he had not talked to ATF investigators and declined to say whether he had been interviewed by NSA investigators.

Washington Post May 10, 1998 Pg. 4

CIA's Espionage Capability Found Lacking

Recent Confrontation With Iraq Shows Need to Rebuild, Head of House Panel Says

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post
Staff Writer

The CIA's human espionage capability has dwindled since the Cold War and needs to be rebuilt, in the view of the chairman of the House intelligence committee.

Using the recent confrontation with Iraq as an illustration, Rep. Porter J. Goss (R-Fla.), who once was a CIA case officer, said in an interview that there were limits in how well U.S. intelligence estimated Iraq President Saddam Hussein's intentions to use chemical and biological weapons.

"It is fair to say that the cupboard is nearly bare in the area of human intelligence," Goss said, citing the greater numbers of intelligence officers engaged by Russia and other nations. His intelligence panel included increased funds and recommendations for a long-range hiring plan for CIA's Directorate of Operations in the fiscal 1999 Intelligence Authorization Bill approved Thursday by voice vote in the House.

The measure provides about $27 billion for the 11 agencies that compose the U.S. intelligence community. While roughly $3 billion of that goes to the CIA, more than 85 percent funds military services and Pentagon-run agencies, such as the electronic intelligence-gathering National Security Agency and the National Reconnaissance Office, which builds and maintains satellite collection capabilities.

While the United States is "doing better," Goss said "there was a serious shortfall" in pinning down Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Such limitations in foreign intelligence information must be corrected, he said, because "the risk that a terrorist group or a rogue

country will use chemical, biological or nuclear weapons against the U.S. or an American citizen or American interests here or abroad is increasing."

In another area of clandestine operations, Goss said he wants the intelligence community and particularly the CIA to be "bold and imaginative" in finding new ways to deal with leaders of rogue countries, such as Saddam Hussein.

"There are risks involved, and recently we have been risk-averse," he said, "but there are other ways to project our power besides threatening warlike actions."

Goss emphasized that he was not talking about assassination or what he called the "old-fashioned" covert action ways of replacing a dictator hostile to U.S. interests by arming his exiled political opponents or fomenting a palace coup.

"There are options between carpet bombing and doing nothing," Goss said, noting without explanation that two former Haitian leaders, Jean-Claude Duvalier and Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras, both abandoned power without bloodshed. At the time each left Haiti, there was talk that personal pressures, money and guarantees of future safety were involved.

Goss added that future covert operations could include increased use of what once was termed psychological warfare. "Mind management" tools, he called them, can "create doubt" within an enemy leader's supporters and "stop the will to fight." He said cyberspace is a growing arena for such clandestine operations.

Goss emphasized that he was not calling for specific covert actions against Saddam Hussein or any other foreign leader. "We have some breathing room," he said, "and we are calling for more arrows in the quiver" of covert action.

On another front, Goss, with the help of Rep. Norman D. Dicks (D-Wash.), the ranking minority member on the intelligence panel, avoided a sharp debate over allegations that the CIA was connected to drug dealers in Central America during the time when the Reagan and Bush administrations were supporting the contra rebels against the pro-communist regime in Nicaragua.

In return for a promise from Dicks that the committee may call for strengthening reporting to the Justice Department of any intelligence gained on drug trafficking, Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.) withdrew an amendment calling for a review of current practices.

Waters noted that prior to 1995, when the current reporting policy was implemented, the CIA had been operating under a Reagan-era agreement that allowed the agency to omit information on drug trafficking or drug law violations by any foreign agents paid by the CIA, individuals who report to the CIA without pay, non-staff CIA employees and agency contractors. Waters called the Reagan administration policy "shocking" since it "allowed the drug cartels to operate through the CIA-led contra covert operations in Central America."

The 1982 CIA-Justice Department agreement was first disclosed in a CIA inspector general report released earlier this year. A final report on a yearlong investigation into the CIA and drug traffickers is to be delivered to the congressional oversight committee this month.

Chance of fruitful DNA test on unknown vet 'quite good'

Washington Times
May 9, 1998
Pg. 3

Method succeeded on 1,500 B.C. mummies, Russian czar

By Joyce Howard Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The genetic material that forensic scientists hope to find in bone fragments of a Vietnam veteran being exhumed from the Tomb of the Unknowns has been extracted from ancient Egyptian mummies about 3,500 years old.

The same genetic marker was taken in 1993 from nine skeletons that were found in a common grave in Siberia, confirming they were the remains of Czar Nicholas II of Russia and his family, executed by Bolshevik soldiers in 1918.

Defense Department officials say the odds are 50-50 that technicians will be able to obtain the genetic material, called mitochondrial DNA, from the remains of the Vietnam veteran, who was laid to rest in Arlington National Cemetery's Tomb of the Unknowns on Memorial Day in 1984.

On Thursday, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen ordered the exhumation of the unidentified veteran, based on circumstantial evidence the remains are those of Air Force 1st Lt. Michael J. Blassie, shot down over South Vietnam on May 11, 1972.

Mark Stolorow, director of operations and spokesman for Cellmark Diagnostics in Germantown, whose lab conducted DNA tests on evidence in the O.J. Simpson murder case, calls the 50-50 estimate "conservative."

"The track record is quite good for successful interpretation of mitochondrial DNA tests of skeletal remains, because bone material contains large amounts of mitochondrial DNA," Mr. Stolorow said in an interview.

Mitchell Holland, chief of the Armed Forces DNA Identification Laboratory in Rockville, said mitochondrial DNA is found outside the nucleus of the cell in mitochondria, which he described as the "energy source of the cell."

Mr. Holland said crime laboratories normally test for matches of nuclear DNA, "the chromosomal DNA found in the nucleus of a cell." They perform the test on samples of blood, saliva and other body fluids or tissues.

A person inherits half of his nuclear DNA from his mother and half from his father. However, mitochondrial DNA is inherited entirely from the mother and passed down only through the maternal line.

While nuclear DNA is unique to every individual, Mr. Stolorow said, it's possible an individual could share mitochondrial DNA with a "few percent of the population selected at random" with whom he is not related.

But generally speaking, Mr. Stolorow said, "you can say with certainty in the high 90-percent range" that persons with identical mitochondrial DNA are family members.

He sees the Vietnam unknown's remains as "a good candidate" for mitochondrial DNA testing. After all, he said, this sort of genetic material was retrieved from the bones of Czar Nicholas and members of his household nearly 80 years after their deaths.

"Acid was poured on those bones [by the Bolshevik executioners]. They were burned, covered with dirt, and exposed to other environ-

mental insults. Yet they still had mitochondrial DNA," he said.

Mr. Holland says mitochondrial DNA testing is "basically a four-step process." The first step, he said, involves removing the DNA "from the skeletal material," using "approximately a one-square-inch piece of bone."

Mr. Stolorow said this is accomplished by "grinding up the bones and subjecting them to a chemical solution, so that the DNA dissolves away from the bone cell."

Once the DNA has been extracted from the bone and is purified, Mr. Holland said, scientists replicate portions of the mitochondrial DNA through a special copying process called polymerase chain reaction, or PCR.

Mr. Stolorow said PCR is a "synthetic form of human DNA replication" or "amplification," designed to increase the available amount of purified DNA by as much as "a billionfold."

Mr. Holland said the third step is to "read the genetic code" of the synthetic mitochondrial DNA to determine its sequence of building blocks.

Finally, the sequence is compared with that in DNA of a suspected relative to see if there is a match.

Washington Post May 11, 1998 Pg. 1

'Operation Vittles': Remembering The Berlin Airlift

By William Drozdiak
Washington Post
Foreign Service

BERLIN—Fifty years later, Herbert Monien still hears the low rumble of the American plane bearing precious sugar supplies as it dropped out of the clouds on a freezing November night. He still sees the flash of fire when the craft overshot the runway and crashed into a warehouse at Tempelhof Airport.

Monien, now 83, remembers the agonizing groans as he rushed to help the crew. "They were screaming like crazy," he said. "I dragged out the pilot and plunged him into a nearby water tank. Then I went back and got the other two crewmen. They all had third-degree burns, but I got them to the hospital in time to save their lives."

At the time, Monien was in charge of monitoring the relief supplies that Western allies were airlifting to 2 million residents of West Berlin, who were stranded when the Soviet army cut off ground access to their island of freedom in 1948. The blockade lasted 462 days and was one of the defining moments in the early days of the Cold War.

When President Clinton visits Tempelhof on Wednesday at the start of a European trip, he will pay tribute to the heroic actions of Monien and countless others who ensured the success of history's greatest humanitarian air rescue. It is an achievement that for many Berliners symbolized how the United States would stand by newly democratic allies who only three years earlier were regarded as mortal enemies.

The statistics alone attest to an amazing logistical feat. More than 2.3 million tons of food, fuel and medicine were delivered to Tempelhof and two other makeshift airfields to sustain the Western enclave 110 miles inside the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany. U.S. and British planes, with crews mobilized for round-the-clock service, flew 278,000 cargo missions. At the peak of the airlift, planes were taking off and landing every 30 seconds.

The crisis erupted in spring 1948 when the Soviet army began disrupting the flow of troops and supplies by the three Western allies -- the United States, France and Britain -- to their occupation sectors in West Berlin. When West Germany introduced its new currency, the mark, on June 24, the Russians closed off all ground routes to force the allies to abandon their territory and to starve the West Berliners into capitulation.

The U.S. government, fearful of igniting war, balked at dispatching armed convoys to reopen the routes. So the U.S. military commander for Berlin, Gen. Lucius D. Clay, decided the only option to a Communist takeover or the starvation of 2 million Berliners was to fly in food and other vital supplies.

"Clay called me and asked if we could start an airlift," recalled Capt. Jack Bennett, who returned to Berlin to celebrate the 50th anniversary of what he calls his most fateful decision. "At first, I told him no way, because I thought it was too dangerous to do low-level flying at night over hostile territory. Clay said we could make history, but I told him I didn't want to make history because I was young and wanted to stay alive."

Bennett went on to fly 60 missions -- more than any other pilot -- in what he and his fellow airmen called Operation Vittles. Later, after East German authorities built a wall to divide Berlin and Pan American World Airways Inc. began making regular civilian flights to the city through special air corridors, Bennett became the airline's director in Berlin. But nothing matched the excitement of the airlift.

"Those were the most important flights of my life," Bennett said. "We saved many lives, and that is a heck of a lot better than flying tourists back and forth on their vacations to Mallorca."

Bennett's apprehensions were well founded. The airlift took place during one of Europe's coldest and wettest winters this century. The landings had to be conducted at such low altitudes that many planes were nearly skimming the rooftops. Seventy-eight airmen, including 31 Americans, lost their lives in crashes.

As Berlin embarks on a new phase of its eventful history as the capital of a reunited Germany, city officials have invited Bennett and nearly 1,000 other airlift veterans back for a rousing set of celebrations.

The purpose of the commemoration, according to Mayor Eberhard Diepgen, is not only to honor the valor of the pilots. It is also to remind a new generation of Germans about the unique partnership with the United States -- one that risks losing its vigor now that a common strategic threat has vanished and both countries find themselves focusing on different challenges in the post-Cold War era. As a sign of the times, the last remaining civilian air route between Berlin and the United States was canceled two months ago.

For Berliners who were alive during the airlift, however, the special connection with the United States remains as strong as ever. People like Mercedes Wild recall that U.S. planes delivered food and candy rather than bombs.

"I was 7 years old at the time, and I remember how frightened we were when we first heard the engines of so many planes," she said. "We could not help but think of the burning houses and all the destruction in the last days of the war. But then, when we saw that they were bringing food and not bombs, we recognized the planes as symbols of a new friendship."

Wild became particularly close to Gail Halvorsen, the American pilot who began attaching packets of sweets to small parachutes and floating them down to delighted children. Halvorsen and other pilots were known as the Rosinenbombers, or raisin bombers, because they first dropped dried fruit to the children. As the habit became more popular, they switched to chocolate. By the end of the airlift, more than 23 tons of candy had been delivered.

Wild maintained contact with Halvorsen after he returned to his home town of Provo, Utah. When the Berlin Wall came down in 1989, she and her husband launched their own airlift between Berlin and Provo. Each year, they sponsor an exchange between two dozen German and American high school students that Wild says is designed to maintain "the spirit of freedom" established by the airlift.

"We hope these children

will never experience the fear and deprivation we felt in those days," Wild said. "But they can learn the lessons of history and keep alive the warmth and generosity that have characterized ties between Germans and Americans after the war."

Amid all the hoopla surrounding the anniversary, the spirit of the airlift remains brightest in Herbert Monien's memory. For saving the lives of three American airmen a half century ago, Monien will be thanked by Clinton.

While pleased by the honor, Monien says nothing could surpass the elation he experienced when he received a thank-you note from Gen. Clay three weeks after the rescue. "He included three cartons of Lucky Strike cigarettes," Monien said. "I felt like I'd been handed the biggest fortune I could ever imagine."

Sailor Fighting Ouster Chosen For Promotion

Washington Post
May 9, 1998
Pg. 6

A senior enlisted sailor who has been the subject of discharge proceedings for homosexuality has been selected for promotion, the Navy announced yesterday.

Timothy R. McVeigh, a 17-year veteran, will rise from senior chief petty officer to master chief petty officer, the highest enlisted rank. A Navy spokesman said the decision was made by a selection board that judged McVeigh solely on the basis of his professional record.

At the same time, Navy authorities have signaled their intention to appeal a federal judge's ruling in January keeping McVeigh on active duty. The Navy had moved to discharge the sailor based on an anonymous online computer profile and confidential records held by an online service.

Formerly the top enlisted sailor on a nuclear-powered attack submarine, McVeigh had complained in the wake of his court victory that the Navy was giving him demeaning assignments. Last month, he was moved to the submarine training center in the Pacific and made the local training authority for the Hawaii region.

U.N. Tribunal Drops 14 Serb Suspects

Pg. 18

THE HAGUE -- The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia said yesterday that it had withdrawn charges against 14 Bosnian Serbs, almost a fifth of those on the prosecutor's published wanted list.

It said charges against the 14 stemmed from offenses at the Serb-run Keraterm and Omarska prison camps, near the town of Prijedor in northwestern Bosnia.

The withdrawal followed a previously announced request from the U.N. tribunal's chief prosecutor, Louise Arbour, that the charges be dropped.

Arbour said the request followed a reevaluation of outstanding indictments and the need to balance the resources of the tribunal to prosecute cases "fairly and expeditiously." It was not the result of a lack of evidence.

She said it was the strategy of her office to pursue those holding higher levels of responsibility or those personally responsible for exceptionally brutal or serious offenses.

Spy Agency To Probe NASA Computer Security

A Rare Operation At U.S. Civilian Agency

BY JOHN DONNELLY

Defense Week

May 11, 1998

Pg. 1

Teams from the National Security Agency will soon try to break into unclassified computer networks at NASA to determine how robust the space agency is at fending off cyber-intruders who could threaten satellite control, launch control and other critical operations, *Defense Week* has learned.

Last June, NSA "hackers" showed they could cripple Pacific Command battle-management computers and U.S. electric power grids. Now, the agents will try to penetrate NASA networks in up to eight states, carefully picking targets from about 100,000 computer users. The objective? To learn how easily troublemakers can get to sensitive data or the absent-minded can expose it—and what NASA's doing about it.

As the concerns and the headlines about computer crime mount, the Ft. Meade, Md.-based spy agency is looking to augment its "information security" mission beyond traditional cryptology to include aggressive information-warfare tests such as last June's military operation, dubbed "Eligible Receiver."

But the NASA "penetration study," which will be run under the auspices of the General Accounting Office, stands out for another reason. This is information-warfare "red teaming" on a wide scale at a U.S. civilian agency, and such operations are barred by the 1952 law that created the NSA. To probe the space agency's computer networks will require use of a loophole in the law.

Electronic privacy issue

The planned test has not been publicized. Informed of it, though, several privacy experts expressed alarm at the prospect of the clandestine agency gaining access to the digital data of thousands of government employees and contractors. These advocates worry that the response of hackers—the threat right now—could itself bring back a threat from the past: spy agencies exceeding their authority in the U.S. There is now no evidence of that, but it's a worry.

Officials counter that they are not interested in reading people's email, just in finding out about vulnerabilities. But the worries nonetheless persist.

At press time, the NSA press office had not responded to a query.

John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists, a veteran observer of both NASA and the intel community, says the NASA test appears to break ground and bears watching.

"This is the next big step in NSA's expanding role in domestic information security," he said. "It's certainly the first reported major initiative of this sort with respect to a non-military agency. While a number of safeguards are in place, there are concerns about the potential for abuse of this type of activity."

Legal issue

In fact, the law that created NSA may not be the only one that bars this type of activity, according to Marc Rotenberg of the Washington, D.C.-based Electronic Privacy Information Center.

The Computer Security Act of 1987

put the National Institute of Standards and Technology in charge of unclassified computer security, Rotenberg said, but the "NSA has been trying to muscle NIST out of the...business." A pending bill, already passed by the House, would strengthen the 1987 law.

"There's a legal question about whether the NSA should be doing this," he said. "...NSA is a very secretive organization with few measures of accountability. If the FBI missteps, it gets called to task....The NSA is really tasked with gathering data outside the U.S. borders.

"My view is that NSA should not be involved in the business of providing computer security for federal agencies that are maintaining unclassified information," he said.

Information security

The Pentagon plans to spend about $1 billion annually protecting its networks by 2003, most of it going to the $4-billion NSA, *Defense Week* reported last year. The NSA's homepage describes its "infosec mission" as providing "leadership, products and services to protect classified and unclassified national security systems against exploitation through interception, unauthorized access or related technical intelligence threats." The agency does risk assessments, training, engineering, infrastructure support and more in this area.

The GAO group that has employed NSA is working at the behest of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee. The GAO just finished a similar vulnerability assessment of the State Department, where detection of an unauthorized person in the network shut down part of the embassy network for two weeks last fall. But in that case, GAO got a contractor to assail the computers and find frailties.

This time, GAO tasked NSA to do the work. NASA preferred to have the spooks run the red team because it wanted to protect security and proprietary data and to avoid any conflict of interest, said Charles Redmond, the space agency's manager of information-technology security.

Moreover, the 1952 law banning domestic activities contains an exception if the spy agency is invited in to do its work, and that is the case at NASA, Redmond said.

Not reading email

According to Jack Brock, the GAO official in charge of the study, privacy worries are wildly misplaced: "I'm not reading email, I'm not putting taps on lines. Once we determine we can break into a system we withdraw and that's it....Would there be less concern if we were using Price Waterhouse?"

The GAO's interest is in whether they can get access to sensitive but unclassified information and, most importantly, whether adequate management systems are in place to protect such networks, he said.

The GAO and NSA are checking on ways to keep unauthorized users out and prevent anything that can impede, impair or alter systems, Brock said. For example, can sensitive sites be accessed through the Internet? Can an employee with a password can get control of an entire network, such as the IRS workers who allegedly reviewed the tax files of neighbors and celebrities?

As for privacy, NASA's Redmond said: "Our general counsel and personnel offices have concluded that government officials use of equipment where the official equipment is examined by a third party also working for the government is not an invasion of privacy. It is a change in existing practice for most people, but in terms of legality, privacy law, we are walking right down the middle of the road." For purposes of the NSA test, he said, the same rules apply to contractors.

Notification to HQ

But in an April 24 memo to its headquarters workers about the "penetration study," NASA informed "users of Government telecommunications systems that their use of these systems constitutes consent to monitoring."

The memo said "the purpose of the test is to attempt to access NASA systems and capture information from systems and individual workstations and to determine the security of our systems."

The memo added that the "NSA may monitor the keystrokes and data content of users of NASA information systems. Accordingly, for the duration of this test, users of NASA information systems should have no expectation of privacy with respect to keystrokes and data content."

Redmond said that, despite the sound of it, the testers wouldn't monitor the content of people's workstations. But if NASA needed to warn people of the possibility of "keystroke monitoring," he said, NSA would not have participated in the probe.

The test will begin as soon as the protocol is developed and should last six months.

New York Times May 9, 1998 Pg. 5

G.O.P. Says Inquiry On China Is Blocked

By The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8 -- The Republican leadership in Congress wrote to President Clinton today, complaining that the Administration had thrown a "veil of secrecy" in front of Congressional efforts to look into a case of space expertise provided to China in 1996 by experts for two leading satellite companies.

Newt Gingrich, the Speaker of the House, and Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader, pledged to press an effort by Congress to examine the case involving Loral Space and Communications and Hughes Electronics Corporation.

"If our efforts to determine the facts are obstructed, we will use every power we have to procure all this information," they wrote.

The Administration has declined to provide documents to Congress, including a 1997 Pentagon report that said national security had been harmed by the assistance provided by the experts, according to Administration officials. The expertise needed to put a satellite into orbit is similar to that required to launch a missile.

The Administration has cited a criminal inquiry into the case as the reason for withholding documents. The Republicans see an issue to raise before Mr. Clinton's trip to China next month.

In response to the letter, Barry Toiv, a White House spokesman, said: "We've already had an interagency team brief Congressional staff. We have begun the process of collecting the necessary documents and we will continue to cooperate."

Both companies have denied any wrongdoing in the matter.

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